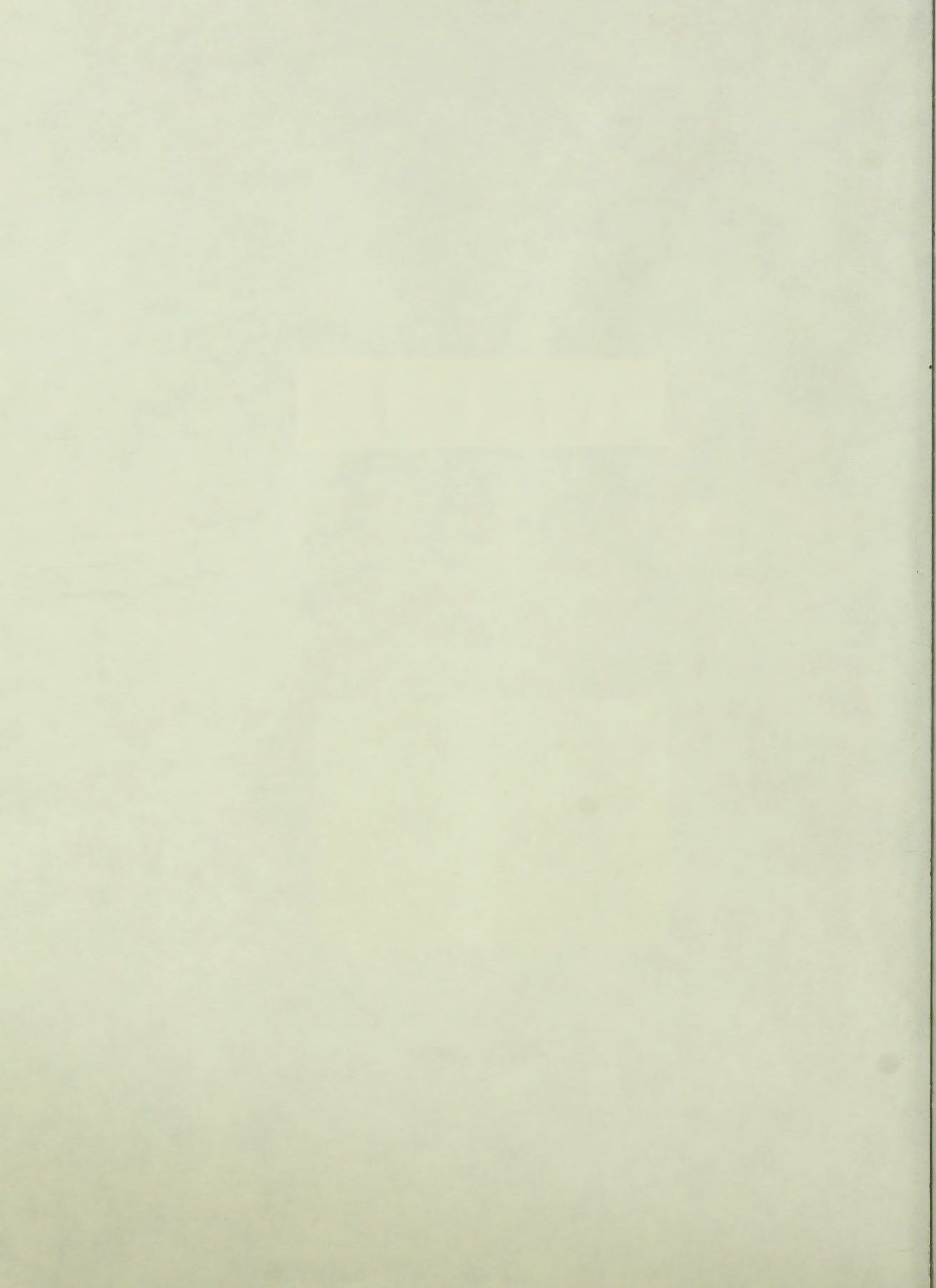





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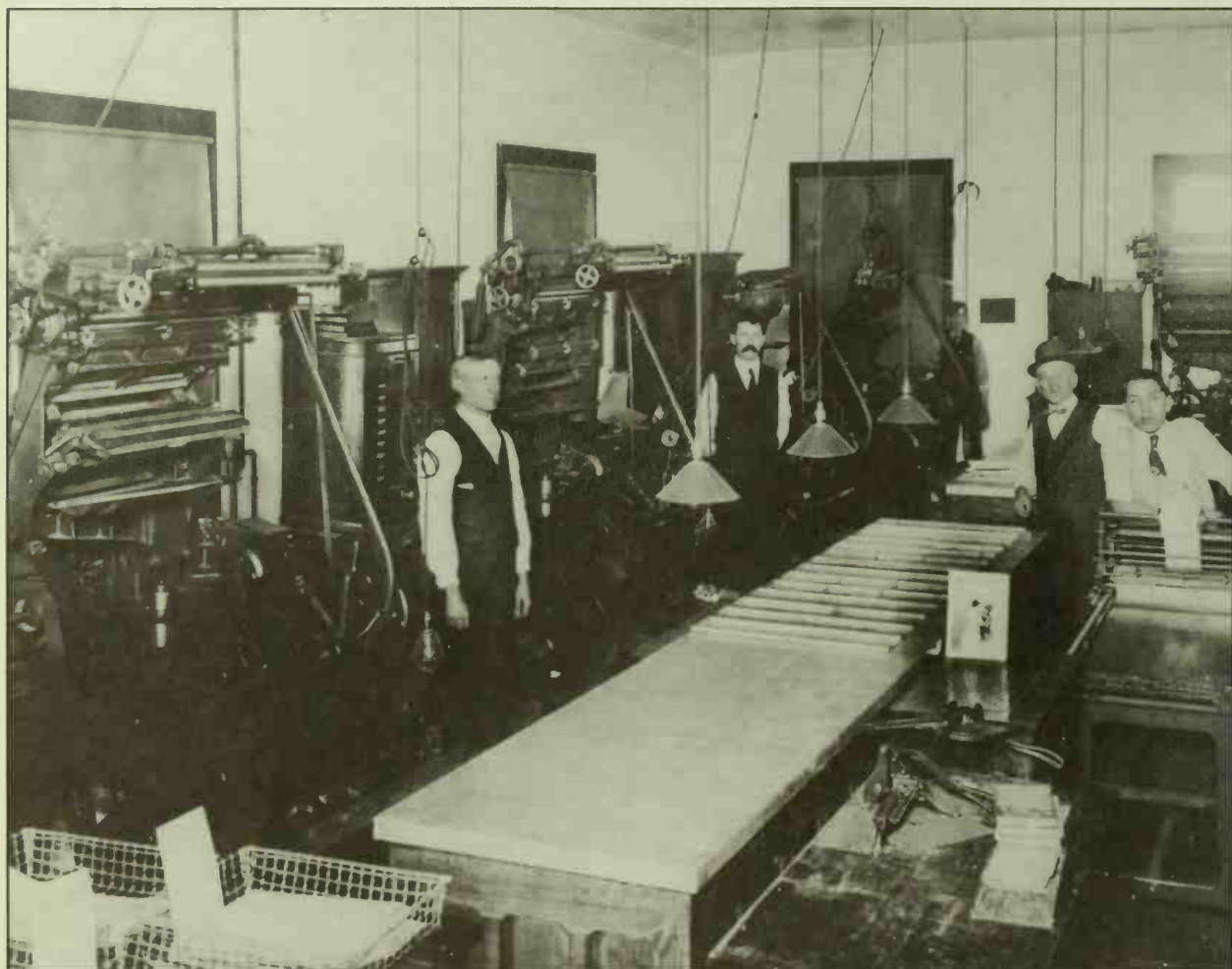
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California Snapshots



ABOVE: The press room of the Humboldt Times, ca. 1915. Founder Edwin D. Coleman ordered presses shipped from San Francisco in May 1854 but lost them in the wreck of the steamer *Arispa* and had to order a new set, which were delivered to Eureka in August. The first edition of the weekly *Times* appeared on September 2, 1854. Writing in the *Overland Monthly* in 1904, journalist David E. Gordon recounted how he became interim editor in 1869 while editor J.E. Wyman ran unsuccessfully as a Republican candidate for district judge. Gordon found that the *Times*, which had already changed ownership and location several times, carried almost no local news but filled its four pages with clippings from the San Francisco papers. Gordon asked a local judge to provide him with a "column" on local events and soon had two-and-a-half columns regularly devoted to happenings in Humboldt County.

In 1874, just a year after the appearance of the competing *Humboldt Standard*, the *Times* became a daily. By 1899, with the population of Eureka near 5,000, both papers boasted circulations over 1,000. In 1912, *Times* editor Leigh H. Irvine was the driving force behind the formation of the Humboldt County Promotion and Development Committee, which was instrumental in bringing agriculture, a state highway, and paper mills to the county. The committee also launched a campaign to create a national park to preserve some of the original giant redwoods. The *Times* and the *Standard* merged in 1967 to form the *Times-Standard*, still Eureka's major daily.

COVER: A permanent workforce of skilled Japanese and Mexican laborers provided the meticulous care which made Charles C. Teague's Limoneira Ranch a model for citrus growers.

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AGRICULTURAL STATESMAN

by Richard G. Lillard

"I must say I am very much a Californian. However, I still have a warm place in my heart for old Maine." In 1905 at thirty-two years of age Charlie Teague was writing from Santa Paula, Ventura County, in what he called "our glorious state," to a childhood friend in Caribou, near the New Brunswick border.¹ After nine years in Caribou and then ten in Salina, Kansas, Teague had settled down in the valley of the Santa Clara River of the South, and now he stood out in agriculture as an important regional figure.

Between his Down East birth in 1873 and his Out West death in 1950 Teague in himself and in his career embodied themes central to American and California history. He joined in the westward movement from New England to the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Coast, bringing with him from early youth a love for fishing and hunting. Though consciously an old-stock American he accommodated to the new immigrants he employed. He carried traditional nineteenth-century conservatism into constructive twentieth-century business activity.

In the early 1890s his family experienced hard times in Salina and Santa Paula but was solidly middle

class throughout—his father a merchant and customs officer in Maine and a business manager in Kansas, his mother a teetotaler, both parents Universalists, rational and methodical, with successful friends and relatives. Teague illustrated the rags-to-riches story only in part. He had to quit high school in Kansas and help support the family by clerking in a dry-goods store and closing out the stock in a bankrupt hardware and implement business. In Santa Paula he began at the bottom thinning windbreaks for \$1 a day and directing a Chinese crew of fruit pickers, then rose to be president of the world's biggest lemon ranch, the Limoneira.

Fifty years after he planted his first lemon tree, he reported that he was president or vice president or general manager of companies with 2,200 acres in oranges, lemons, beans, and vegetables in Ventura County, 6,500 acres of beans, peas, beets, barley, tomatoes, lettuce, walnuts, apricots, and almonds in the Salinas Valley, and 400 acres of grapes, plums, and peaches in the San Joaquin Valley near Visalia.²

Throughout his life he remained loyal to the idea that farming is both a business and a way of life. He became a leader in producing specialties grown only or mostly in "glorious" California. He had the qualities he admired in other New England-

ers who moved to Ventura County: "strength of character, thrift, industry, and integrity."³ Yankee-like he improved devices such as a cultivator and a lemon washer. He held to an abiding but self-contradictory faith in individual initiative and also in cooperative action—one of his several unresolved inconsistencies. He wanted to lead an "unostentatious life"⁴ but in 1923 built the most impressive hillside house in the community and regularly stayed in the Waldorf Astoria when he visited Manhattan. He abandoned free-enterprise economics without directly saying so and collaborated with a conservative U.S. president to promote growers' exchanges that opponents called "radical." Eventually he became a recognized spokesman for the Republican ideology, even though he gained from certain New Deal programs.

Like the dominant middle-class citizens of his day, he clung to established ends such as hard work as a self-rewarding virtue, private property, law and order, and representative government by men with mental capacity, foresight, and ethical principles. As "a conservative with progressive tendencies,"⁵ self educated, sharing what he learned, he came to be in fact as in reputation a statesman representing rural America and major new institutions of the agricultural industry. Al-

Charles C. Teague, photographed in the 1930s. COURTESY OF MILTON TEAGUE

Charles C. Teague of Santa Paula

though he came to know national leaders in politics, finance, manufacturing, and journalism and spent much time in Los Angeles, Washington, and New York, he remained at heart a confirmed small-town resident, loyal to Santa Paula. In 1910 its population was 2,200, in 1930, 7,500.

In Santa Paula he continued in the tradition of the close-knit, self-supporting family he knew as a boy in Maine, Kansas, and California. He held on to the original acres, part of "The Teague Forty," that he and his father had planted, adding to them many times over. He married Harriet McKeveit, daughter of the president of the local bank, a homemaker who insisted that their children attend Sunday school and who paid them a thousand dollars each when they did not smoke or drink before the age of twenty-one. The Teagues had a cabin in a congenial colony of the town's leading families at Sulphur Mountain Springs in the canyon of Santa Paula Creek.

Their daughter Alice went to a private school, Marlborough, and their two sons went to Stanford. Milton majored in entomology, took courses related to agriculture, graduated with distinction, and married a Stanford woman, Alfrida Poco, member of a Nevada Basque family. Milton helped his father run the ranches and followed his father as president and general manager of

the Limoneira and other companies, as director and president of the citrus growers' exchange, and as a Republican.

Charles attended Stanford Law School, practiced law in Ventura and Los Angeles, served in the Air Force during World War II, and succeeded as a highly popular and effective Congressman from Ventura County from 1954 until his sudden death in 1974.⁶ One of his two children, Alan, became mayor of Santa Paula. Like his brother, Charles carried on their father's concern for family continuity, the vitality of the community, the custodianship of natural resources, and political conservatism with support for improvements.

Until well into the 1920s, when his sons were in college and he was not yet prominent in national affairs, Teague worked at home in Santa Paula or a few blocks away in the Limoneira Company's office. He loved to hunt ducks in the seaside marshes near Point Mugu and quail and doves in the fields and foothills of the inland valleys. He was a confirmed fly angler in local creeks and in the river he called "the Owens" on the east side of the Sierra Nevada.

As friends remember him, he remained a teetotaler with an amiable, homespun quality. As a visiting writer sized him up, he was a "stocky, pleasant man," "sonorous of voice," with "a weatherbeaten complexion, and a good command of English."⁷

From his arrival in Santa Paula in 1893 through his retirement in 1947 and until his fatal heart attack at the Sespe Ranch in 1950, Teague took the initiative to improve things and institutions. Leadership came easily, almost automatically,

sometimes to the annoyance of fellow citizens who thought he had his hands in too many activities. In the 1890s, for instance, he helped incorporate the Santa Paula Electric Light Company, which installed the first incandescent globes in town. He got Sunset Telephone to install a line, which needed twenty subscribers.

After 1900 he began agitation for good roads, wanted by the first motorists, including himself with his St. Louis Runabout. He headed the effort to raise prodigious vegetables to exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. He led a group urging changes in the county dove-hunting season and enforcement of the fishing season in Santa Paula and Sespe creeks. He took part in town and county affairs, serving in county Republican clubs and, as president of his father-in-law's bank, helping put Liberty Loan drives "over the top."

His most notable single act of local public service came in 1928 after the St. Francis Dam burst and inundated the Santa Clara Valley clear across Ventura County to the sea. The dam, located in Los Angeles County, brimmed with water on its way from the Owens River to the Los Angeles City Department of Water and Power. When it broke in the dark of the night, a wall of water killed hundreds of people, destroyed thousands of homes and other structures in the countryside or towns, and damaged or ruined 11,000 acres of orchard and crop land. At once Teague began to labor as chairman of flood relief for the City of Santa Paula and as the dominating figure on the Los Angeles-Ventura Joint Committee, which handled all details of damage and compensation and wanted a

Richard G. Lillard is historian of the West whose books include *Eden in Jeopardy*; *Desert Challenge: an interpretation of Nevada*; *The Great Forest*; and *The Great Southwest*. Dr. Lillard is based in Los Angeles.



COURTESY OF MILTON TEAGUE

"no-suit" settlement. Teague insisted on a tight organization of skilled appraisers, careful records, and the thorough consideration of every claim, small or large. Within months the committee settled what could have taken years of expensive litigation. The City of Los Angeles paid the entire cost of rehabilitation and restoration, adjusting all claims without recourse to the courts. There is perhaps no parallel in history of so equitable a solution to a multi-million-dollar disaster, with an imperious city on one side and a devastated rural valley on the other.⁸

Whether he faced a calamitous flood or a crisis in selling a perishable crop, Teague had a comprehensive mind, a special gift for seeing problems in the large and in detail. With a habit of calm, direct, non-violent, pragmatic action he moved from fruit-packing sheds to the committee rooms in state and federal capitols, the microphones of radio studios, and even to the halls of the United Nations, for which he acted as an agricultural adviser at the initial meeting in San Francisco.

Charles Teague in his "St. Louis" runabout in 1903. Teague joined other early automobile owners in lobbying for good roads in Ventura County.

After a decade in California, Teague was on his way as a spokesman for progressive agriculture. Though he managed a horse and cattle ranch, sugar beet and alfalfa fields, walnut and orange groves, and water companies, he focused his main attention on lemons. In an almost religious way he was a convert to lemons, a California monopoly then as for the century to come. He talked with elation about his scheme, the "Teague Method," to store winter lemons for the summer market. He experimented with all aspects of lemon growing from selecting root stocks to packing the fruit. "Handle each lemon like an egg."⁹ He noted every problem with orchard trees—frost or wind or sun damage, yellow leaves near the center of trees, diseases, pests.

He kept learning and began in-

structing. In a 1902 letter to a relative he wrote:

The Limoneira Ranch is looked upon, throughout California, as a model ranch and the lemon growers all over the state are adopting our methods as to pruning, spraying and handling fruit. I am be-seiged [sic] with letters in this regard and have one or two in almost every mail. I might say that it is getting to be a sort of lemon Jerusalem toward which pilgrimages are being made from all over the lemon country.¹⁰

At a two-day university-run Farmers' Institute in Santa Paula the same year he spoke on "The Lemon." He took a confident stand critical of many fellow growers.

This lemon business is becoming more and more the survival of the fittest. The poorly located, poorly watered, poorly cared for orchards must inevitably drop out of the running. Southern California is full of orchards which are only monuments of the mistakes of those who planted them, which never have been and never will be profitable.

It was not enough, he said, to be a "good, shrewd, level-headed business man" who sensed the opportunities in lemons but "did not realize what was necessary to its success."

He gave his audience advice about proper climate and soil conditions, water supply, selection of trees, and care of the crop: Get budding stock from bearing wood, not from suckers. Pick lemons before they ripen on the tree. Cure them under conditions that prevent sweating or wilting. Pack lemons evenly, neatly, honestly. Have a brand name. Ship in car lots only and keep fruit up to grade. If the fruit is poor, market and sell it for what it is. Establish and maintain regular marketing. Be-

long to an association, such as the leader in 1902, the Southern California Fruit Exchange.¹¹

Like G.W. Garcelon of Riverside, Teague did much to help lemons come to rank second only to oranges in the California fruit industry, making the state's lemons competitive with imports from Sicily. Prior to the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which created the Agricultural Extension Service, Teague functioned as a sort of personal farm advisory service—sponsoring University of California research, which he paid for or housed on the Limoneira, speaking at conferences, and writing for *California Cultivator* and *California Citrograph*.¹²

The problems of irrigation both challenged and fascinated him. He pioneered in practices other ranchers scoffed at. In the early 1890s Santa Paula farmers thought irrigation was a waste of time and money except for citrus and alfalfa, but during a drought Teague saved the apricot crop for several farmers by irrigating their trees, taking half the dried fruit as his share. He made a tidy sum. In letters thirty-seven years apart and in his autobiography he claimed that he was the first person in Ventura County to irrigate lima beans in furrows after the plants came up. Old bean growers had advised against such watering. It would cause the plants to grow to vine "and would be injurious." He went ahead and next year produced about double the crop.¹³

Teague was "hipped on irrigation," as his son Milton remembered decades later.¹⁴ He crammed letters and articles with what he had found out: Irrigate walnuts in winter to keep the roots cold so that the trees won't leaf out too soon and perhaps

get frost nipped. Don't irrigate citrus in winter and shock the trees by chilling their roots. Beware of irrigation that is too shallow or so deep as to drown subsoils. By 1925 the Limoneira had learned to irrigate not at fixed intervals but by the results of soil samples three feet deep. In the 1930s, after Teague and partners had acquired the Soledad Ranch in the Salinas Valley, Teague wrote the manager a seven-page letter, illustrated with hand drawings, on how to irrigate and when.

Teague's Limoneira, aided by entomologists and pathologists, G. Harold Powell and S.H. Essig among them, found out how to conquer the cottony-cushion scale, the mealy bug, citrus aphid, thrip, mottled leaf, citrus bud mite, tristera (or Quick Decline), nematodes, brown rot, black scale, red spider, white fly, and blue mold. In 1917 Limoneira built the first private insectary in the state, which in one 1927 instance released 371,000 insects for biological control of mealy bugs.¹⁵

Occasional freezes forced Teague and other growers to make steady improvements in heating systems,



COURTESY OF MILTON TEAGUE

Teague (right) in 1924 preparing to be flown in an Army plane from San Francisco to Sacramento where he was to join a delegation heading to Washington for consultations on a serious outbreak of hoof and mouth disease. On the left is Norman Sloane, manager of the California State Chamber of Commerce.

graduating from coal-basket heaters to oil heaters to airplane-propeller fans. A whole alert system was tied to automatic cold alarms, thermometer stations, telephone lines, and Weather Bureau radio reports.

In 1927 a writer found the ranch to be "organized like a large factory," with complete regimentation for every activity and specialists for each. The year before it had shipped 296,609 boxes of lemons, which filled 650 ventilated railroad cars.¹⁶

In 1956 when journalist Andrew Hamilton made a pilgrimage to the Limoneira it rated in the opinion of the U.S. Department of State as one of America's agricultural showplaces. Carried on by Milton after his father's death, the ranch had 600 employees, 500 homes, 100 vehicles, 35 miles of roads, 4 churches, 3 playgrounds, 2 stores, 2 packing

houses, a fire department, water and sewer systems, a swimming pool, a soil and research laboratory, and the insectary.¹⁷

Teague's early prominence as a lemon and walnut grower joined directly to the major thrust of his career: his steadfast contribution to the institutions of the growers' cooperatives movement. When the Teagues first arrived in Santa Paula, a small local cooperative already functioned, helping the farmers who belonged market crops and buy supplies. "By this means the speculative intermediary will in time be eliminated from trade, and he should be," commented the *Santa Paula Chronicle*.¹⁸

Since 1860 farmers in various areas had tried to establish controls, as for milk, cheese, and grain in the Middle West, cotton and livestock in the South, grapes in New York and Ohio, water in Utah, raisins, honey, and wine in California, and citrus in Los Angeles and Riverside counties. The California Fruit Union, founded in 1885 in Sacramento, lost direction and failed because it included both growers and shippers, whose interests conflicted. Growers gained full control of their cooperative in 1895 with the California Fruit Growers and Shipping Association. In 1903 it became the California Fruit Growers Exchange, of which Teague was a director and then the president from 1920 to 1950.¹⁹ (In 1952 it became Sun-kist Growers, Inc.)

In the opinion of Frank T. Swett, who organized cooperatives for deciduous fruits, pears in particular, it took Teague to organize the exchange effectively, give it orderly momentum, and make it a model

success.²⁰ Arthur McFadden, a grower and a fellow member of the University of California Board of Regents, saw Teague influence by "sheer force of personality" and quiet persistent determination when working among fellow leaders but perform as "not too able a politician" when dealing with large audiences.²¹

The master idea dominating Teague's career was to have growers' organizations control supply and distribution, and keep prices up. His concern was the producer only, not the middleman or the consumer. "A small surplus, if unregulated, is almost as depressing and disastrous to prices as large surpluses," said Teague. "The flow of perishable products must be regulated at the source. If surplus supplies are shipped to the markets they will be sold even if they do not bring freight charges."²² He said about F.O.B. selling of a perishable product that it "never has and never can work." It is "a game of Heads the buyers win—Tails the growers lose."²³

With control of supply went standardization of quality. While Teague was president of the Walnut Growers Association, from its formation in 1912 until 1942, the association started uniform size grading in 1912, uniform bleaching in 1913, a common pool of nuts in 1918, cracking standards in 1923, and later, methods of vacuum packing and the label of excellence: Diamond Brand.

Pooling and prorating among growers worked, Teague realized, only when the exchange had a virtual monopoly within the area of production and could firmly allocate, according to the size and quality of each grower's crop, how many boxes or carloads the individual

could ship each week. Sane distribution came when most of the crop could be controlled and shipments were made only to meet demand. Crops that grew everywhere or in many states, like hay, potatoes, apples, and cotton, eluded the disciplines of an exchange. California could control crops that grew only in the state, like almonds, figs, table grapes, raisins, and lemons. California and Oregon controlled walnuts. In 1930 the Florida Citrus Exchange floundered because its members controlled only a small percentage of the state's production. In contrast, the California Fruit Growers Exchange prospered because it dominated the state's citrus production and marketing.

The exchange grew to include 14,000 growers in twenty-five or more district exchanges with more than 200 local packing houses. It had three subsidiaries. The Fruit Growers Supply Company, owning 20,000 acres of forest, supplied not only shook for boxes but also nails, tissue wraps, labels, orchard heaters, budwood and fertilizers. The Orange Products and Lemon Products companies manufactured juice concentrates, citric acid, oils, pectin, and other by-products. The exchange and its subsidiaries picked, hauled, packed, inspected, fumigated, dusted, sprayed, adjusted claims, transported, marketed, researched, and advertised. Its Sun-kist brand became the leading agricultural-product label in the nation.

California historian Robert Glass Cleland, who correctly reported that Teague was "sometimes spoken of as the father of co-operative marketing in California,"²⁴ rated the exchange as the "largest and most suc-

cessful cooperative enterprise of its kind in the world, and its influence upon the formation of similar organizations in other branches of agriculture has been of inestimable value."²⁵ By 1936 the exchange controlled seventy-five percent of California oranges and ninety-seven percent of California lemons. It sold forty-five percent of its fruit at daily auctions in eleven major cities, fourteen percent of these sales in Manhattan. Presiding over all of this at weekly meetings in the Sunkist Building in Los Angeles was C.C. Teague.

The early effectiveness of the exchange influenced the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Rural Organization Service, of which agricultural economist Thomas Nixon Carver became director in 1913, to study the possibility of efficient organized marketing, purchasing of supplies, and agricultural credit for farmers.²⁶ The exchange also influenced a series of administrations, beginning with Coolidge's, in which Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, a friend of Teague, pushed for producers' cooperatives and trade associations. Teague worked with Hoover and others during the 1920s, when cooperatives as "a national phenomenon" enjoyed their "Golden Age."²⁷

In 1925 a dozen national figures, Teague among them, founded the American Institute of Cooperation to serve as a forum for discussion and planning. This came at the time of the President's Agricultural Conference and rising Congressional concern for the economic problems of farmers, overproduction and falling prices. In 1926 the Cooperative Marketing Act created an agency to carry on research, service, and education—for farmers, not for workers



COURTESY OF MILTON TEAGUE

or retail purchasers.

A year later the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture, established by the National Industrial Conference and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, published "The Condition of Agriculture in the United States and Measures for Its Improvement," which gave attention to the problem of surpluses. It urged farmers to cooperate and not to let the farm problem drift. It said all levels of government must cooperate. "*Laissez-faire* is of the past," it declared, "and the practical question is how far shall we be driven in the other direction."²⁸

Then in 1929 came a law based on an idea that President Hoover himself had conceived, matured, and helped to draft: the Agricultural Marketing Act. It created the Federal Farm Board and "provided for an all-out effort to fashion strong national marketing cooperatives."²⁹ For the first time, and under a Republican president, the government took an active hand in the administration of agricultural business affairs. With \$500 million at its disposal, the board could begin to help farmers restrict production. Though the new board could not peg prices, it could cushion extreme declines of prices by reducing shipments to the markets, with particular concern for perishable products.

When Hoover asked Teague to serve on the Board, Teague at first

Teague inspects damage to the St. Francis Dam after its collapse in March, 1928.

declined, but Hoover urged him to reconsider, wanting him to help with the "stabilization and clearing house sections of the Act" and thus enable the board to "start with maximum intelligence and skill."³⁰ Teague accepted for one year and stayed on for a second. In early October of 1929 the Senate Agricultural Committee closely questioned him for three hours. He handled sharp probes from several insurgent Republicans and Southern Democrats, whom he called a "radical element,"³¹ by explaining in detail the cooperative concept. If spread over the entire country it could carry American farmers to their long-sought goal of "parity with industry." At one point Senator Heflin of Alabama clapped his hands and said to Senator McNary of Oregon: "Mr. Chairman, this man deserves some applause." Next day a headline read: "His Mastery of Marketing Problems Turns Enmity Into Admiration."³² Two weeks later the Senate debated stiffly over three other nominations but gave Teague an easy voice vote.

As a board member, Teague exercised his characteristic administrative skill. He insisted that the board's activities be tightly organized and clarified its policies. He kept it from random generosity. He wrote an Arkansas man that the

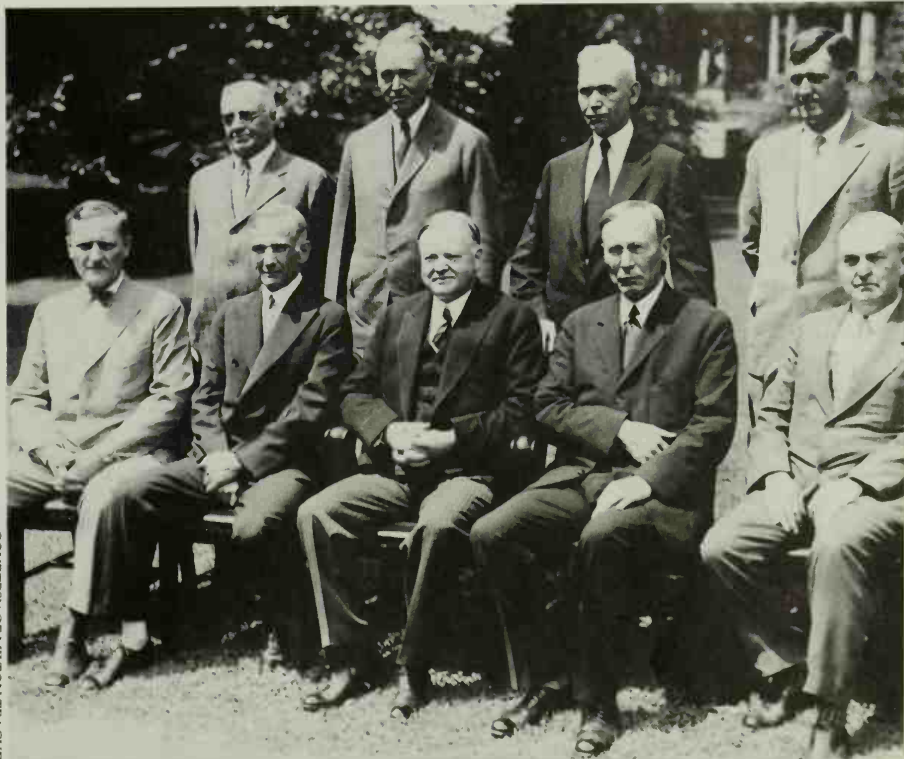
board promoted grower-owned-and-managed marketing organizations and did not deal with individuals, insect control, or freight rates; and he wrote a man in Florida that the board had money only for cooperatives in which more than half of what they processed came from members.³³

The Federal Farm Board gave an initial stability to midwestern wheat, southern cotton, and California raisin grapes, and it encouraged cooperative action all across the United States. But after Teague left in 1931, not because he left, the whole effort broke down, "partly because supplies were uncontrolled and surpluses became unmanageable, and partly because it began just as the whole world was sliding into the most massive economic depression in history."³⁴

While he was still on the board, Teague, urged on by Hoover, worked with Joseph Di Giorgio, California fruit grower and owner of Eastern fruit and vegetable auctions, trying to set up nationwide cooperatives to regulate production and distribution. Since state and local organizations would not join, fearing the creation of a national czar, the effort failed. The two men continued to work together, however, in both marketing and Republican politics.

Hoover's board died promptly under the New Deal, which replaced it in 1933 with the similar Farm Credit Administration. It had a Cooperative Division that made loans to farmers. Also, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 provided for marketing agreements to avoid gluts and scarcities at terminal markets—the very thing that Teague and Di Giorgio wanted, except that it came from Democrats.

COURTESY OF MILTON TEAGUE



Teague supported the California Marketing Act of 1933, which closely paralleled the federal act, and Teague sat among the persons whom Republican governor James Rolph asked to help select members for the Prorate Commission. As chosen, the large growers, cooperatives, and processors dominated the commission, which prorated for each grower and shipper in California. Many outsiders objected to this. Lawsuits reached the State Supreme Court. It upheld the Act.³⁵

In 1938 the California Fruit Growers Exchange faced losses in membership owing, Teague said, to "false and misleading information" spread by independent non-members who wanted to kill the state and federal prorating agreements. In an effort to reinvigorate the agreements and fight off the challenge to the Exchange, Teague wrote and delivered over a Los Angeles radio station—paying for the time himself—a series of ten broadcasts. These summed up in final form his economic gospel of cooperation. The subhead for the talk called "The Lemon Growers' Problem" phrased his own rejection of *laissez-faire*: "Competition the

Herbert Hoover's Federal Farm Board in July, 1929. Hoover is third from the left in the front row, and Teague is on the far right. Teague joined the Farm Board reluctantly but was instrumental in shaping its organization.

death, cooperation the life of citrus growers." The ten talks, praised by the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Pacific Rural Press* and the deputy governor of the Farm Credit Administration, recruited new members and rallied the necessary support for the citrus proration agreement.³⁶

Amid the economic and political turbulence of the 1930s, Teague tried to make clear distinctions among terms as he argued for his point of view. He told a Wisconsin audience at the American Institute of Cooperation that the proration laws, backed by the fruit exchanges, make possible "voluntary self-government that protects the consumer from monopoly."³⁷ He told others that a cooperative thinks of the whole industry, unlike a business corporation, which thinks only of itself.³⁸ A cooperative is not a trust, since any grower can join and it does not try to force arbitrary prices. Prices are determined at the daily auctions.³⁹

Prorating regulated the movement of fresh produce, lengthened the season, and provided a steady supply for consumers at reasonable prices. Such orderly planning helped all growers and packers by increasing sales and profits. The volume prorate prevents demoralization, Teague testified in a civil suit, for all it does "is to create a stabilized market on that portion of the crop that can be shipped."⁴⁰ Growers who did not join the exchange were "commercial,"⁴¹ selfish, unfair, profiteering, and individualistic—with short-term vision.

In return the independents, big or small, argued that prorationing is unfair and inequitable. It gives monopolistic power to the big operators who sit on the boards, set the weekly quotas, raise prices for the consumer, and penalize the non-member who has an early crop, extra good produce, tree-ripe fruit and insufficient or no storage space. It stifles individual initiative, impedes the free flow of goods, and turns the commerce clause of the constitution into a scrap of paper. A free market adjusts to market demands.⁴² (Such economic arguments back and forth continued still lively in 1985, when the relative economic power of Sun-kist had declined in the face of the rising wallop of huge independent corporations in the San Joaquin Valley.)⁴³

Viewed from the left, members of the California Fruit Growers Exchange with their prorationing were "farm industrialists" concerned only with high profits, and the exchange was "a huge holding corporation."⁴⁴ Seen from the right by speculators, fruit brokers, and commission agents, the growers were a radical group like socialists. When such op-



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ponents called the Federal Farm Board socialistic, Teague replied that the board helped growers just as tariffs helped manufacturers.

Fortune had its own appraisal to make in its 1936 article on the exchange:

It is perhaps stretching a point to call the Exchange a socialistic institution. But . . . its members have surrendered control of their economic action to a central authority that subordinates the individual to the group interest. They may vote Republican, and a heavy percentage of them do, but their business is conducted under a planned economy run by an elaborate bureaucracy.

Growers may grumble and long for individual action, the magazine commented, but they know that regimentation brings profit and survival. The exchange has a "soviet-like structure that works."⁴⁵

Although Teague often expressed his admiration for businessmen, he showed inconsistency here as in other matters. When he was seven-

Teague urged citrus growers to ship by the carload to eastern markets, where the fruit would be auctioned. Prorating gave each grower a weekly quota of fruits to ship. An average boxcar like this one carried 70,000 oranges.

ty-one he said that he had found few heads of big businesses who understood cooperative marketing. "They are apt instinctively to consider it a sort of socialistic movement, whereas it is, on the contrary, just as much a part of the business enterprise system as is manufacturing or any other form of industry."⁴⁶

The charge of radicalism had grown obsolete, he told members of the National Council of Farmers Cooperatives. At the same time he joined the council in opposing a bill sponsored by Senator George Norris that would allow agricultural cooperatives to expand into consumer coops in urban communities. The growers' customers, said Teague, are the wholesale and retail trade, not the ultimate consumer.⁴⁷

But the exchange eventually

found itself caught among the cross-currents of government. In 1938 in the course of a three-volume investigation, the Federal Trade Commission praised the growers' exchanges, their marketing included.⁴⁸ Then in the years 1940–42 the Justice Department sued the California Fruit Growers, other fruit exchanges and companies, nine fruit auction companies, and forty individuals, charging them with restraint of trade and monopoly, not in the prorationing but in a variety of marketing practices. These included arranging for rebates, selling exclusively at auctions, refusing to sell within arbitrary distances from auctions, refusing to sell carload lots to persons who shipped elsewhere or resold, and buying up at private sales or restricting the volume or classes of produce to be sold at private sales. Teague wrote to the owner of Mt. Diablo Fruit Farm:

*It seems quite a travesty that one area of the government will encourage cooperative organization and the proper regulation of farm products to market by laws such as the prorate act, and another arm will attack these organizations and attempt to undo all that has been accomplished through years of hard work by a great many people.*⁴⁹

The government successfully enjoined the practices. In March of 1942 the case ended in a consent decree.⁵⁰

Middlemen and independent and small growers saw this as a victory, but its scope was limited, for the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1937 as later amended continued to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to issue marketing orders. These prorationing orders, collectively determined by growers and handlers,



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worked out solutions to problems of supply and demand for non-subsidized crops of fruits, vegetables, and special produce such as nuts and hops.⁵¹

For years the Limoneira and the other ranches in the charge of Teague and his neighbors remained free from trouble with organized labor, partly because citrus orchards, lemons in particular, are labor intensive and call for settled, year-round employees. From 1899 on observers saw the Limoneira as a model in housing its workers. In 1919 Teague spoke in Los Angeles to the Lemon Men's Club on "How to House and Treat Citrus Ranch employees." He mentioned, "We have about 200 houses for Mexican employees which are filled with as many contented families."⁵² As time passed the ranch provided more homes, amid landscaping, and varied facilities.⁵³ Teague knew by name all his workers in the orchard and packing houses.

He much respected Japanese workers. In 1940 Nobumitsu Takahashi, a Japanese-American

As part of the effort to standardize and centralize, fruit growers' exchanges manufactured boxes for the use of individual growers, who affixed their own labels. These workers are filling boxes with lemons from a washing machine.

graduate of the University of California in Agricultural Economics, wrote to ask for work at the Limoneira or the Fruit Growers Exchange. Takahashi said he wanted to break through the racial barrier. Teague replied that the crop was light, so there were no job openings, and he added: "I have no prejudice against your race and have a number of Japanese working for me and formerly employed a good many."⁵⁴

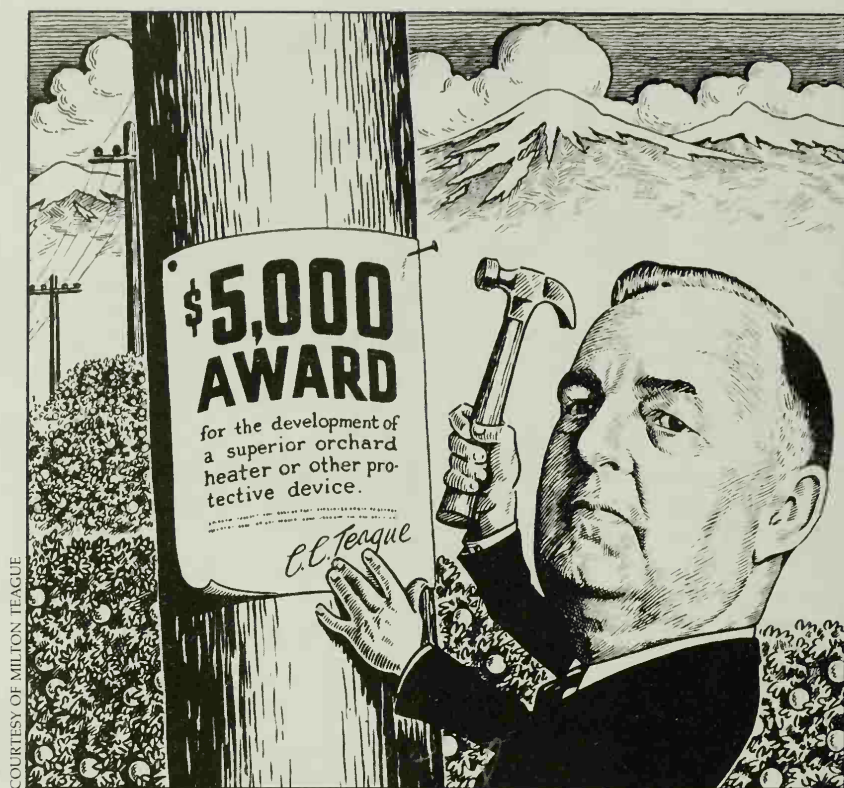
Like the majority of Californians in his day Teague generalized in a conventional, stereotyped and mildly patronizing way about the "easy-going, kindly Mexican people."⁵⁵ He said they have "a natural skill in the handling of tools and are resourceful in matters requiring manual ability." They are "naturally adapted to agricultural work, particularly in the handling of fruits and vegetables." They are not tramps or public charges and are "usually

good-natured and happy. They have one trait I have always admired—they are generally willing to share what they have with their relatives when they are in need.⁷⁵⁶

Yet despite Teague's good will, trouble eventually came to his lemon-scented New Jerusalem in the secluded Santa Clara Valley of the South. All during the 1930s he had followed news of labor organizing in the fields and orchards of California and the rise of growers' counter-organizations such as the Associated Farmers. He had voiced his opposition to the unions' demands. He objected to filming the *Grapes of Wrath*.

At the start of the picking season in early 1941 a union organizer, Ed Achstetter, led the new Agricultural and Citrus Workers Union into a strike by Mexicans that made Ventura County the initial battleground in a campaign to unionize citrus in California. The strikers, borrowing the sit-down tactic from factory strikers in Ohio and Michigan, simply stayed in company houses. Their leaders made demands that the Committee of Ventura County Lemon Growers said it could and would not meet: a thirty-to-thirty-five-percent increase in wages and complete union control of hiring.

With characteristic diplomacy Teague sent a two-page letter to his strikers. It began "Dear Employee" and went on to sum up the balance sheet of the ranch—two good years, 1936 and 1937, and two years of losing money, 1939 and 1940, with no dividends for the last three years. Just the same, the ranch had improved homes with appliances and utilities and provided life insurance and coverage for sickness and accidents. The ranch would open its



COURTESY OF MILTON TEAGUE

books to the workers' public accountant and would talk with its workers, though not with strangers, the organizers. The ranch would provide police protection at home and at work but would have to replace men and women who wouldn't work. "We never have done anything to prevent you from joining a union and you are free to join if you wish to, but you do not have to join a union to work for us. We never have and we will not in the future treat union workers differently from those who do not belong to unions."⁵⁷

A week later he addressed a mass meeting of citizens in the auditorium of the Union High School of Santa Paula. Throughout the twelve pages of text he remained formal and placid, though forceful in declaring a crisis. The union, he said, made exaggerated claims about victories in packing-house elections. It made peremptory demands. "We have ample evidence that workers have been intimidated and coerced into joining and striking." Furthermore: "Those who have had the courage to pass through the picket lines have

No one ever developed a "superior water heater." Teague used the \$5,000 to publish his autobiography, Fifty Years a Rancher.

been insulted and vilified." He concluded: "It is the right of every man to decide whether or not he wants to work. It is also the right of the employer to replace those who decline to work."⁵⁸

The strike lasted five months, and Teague admitted to losing a lot of sleep. At first the ranchers let the strikers remain in the houses. Then came the shutting off of electricity and gas, eviction under the tenancy law, and growers' complaints that state and federal relief agencies nursed and coddled strikers, and then hearings, as growers took to court stacks of complaints against 600 or more families.⁵⁹ In return the union listed growers as "struck and unfair" and began to register resident strikers as voters.

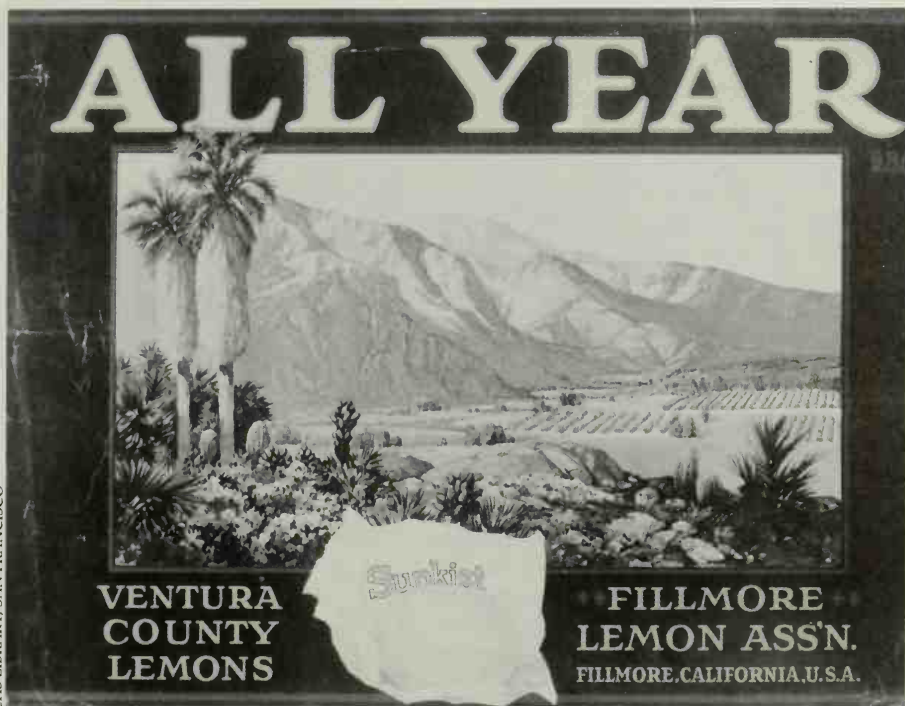
In May Teague wrote to Philip Bancroft, an arch-conservative rancher: "We have completely licked the strike." In August he wrote a *New Yorker* that some strikers wanted their jobs back, but there were re-

placements, freshly trained refugees from the Dust Bowl, "good American people who had not been spoiled and who really wanted to get out of the migrant class and become settled."⁶⁰

Within a year, with the war on, the "good American people" were on the move again, to get higher pay. Facing labor shortages, the growers, who wanted low wages for all workers, complained that the U.S. Employment Service and the War Management Commission (under Paul McNutt) favored high pay for industrial workers and low pay for farm workers. Ezra Taft Benson, executive secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, put out an issue of "Washington Situation" that pointed to the shortage of field and orchard workers as well as of nitrogen fertilizer, trucks, and tires. Benson said that since McNutt's commission had no industrial wage policy the rural workers moved to the shipyards and other defense industries.

Teague kept busy in a dozen directions, seeking to provide agriculture with a competent work force and the nation with food and fiber. He spoke before chambers of commerce, appeared before legislative committees in Sacramento and Washington, wrote letters, sent telegrams, and worked with a seven-man California committee of farm leaders to formulate a contract for the procurement and distribution of Mexican labor. He spoke in New York over radio station WJZ on a program called "Wake Up America" and funded by the American Economic Foundation. He objected to cost-plus defense contracts, ridiculously high industrial wages, and price ceilings on agricultural products.⁶¹ In a long

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telegram to four big farm organizations he urged spokesmen to lobby for laws to import Mexican labor for agriculture, to exempt all farm workers from the draft as long as they stayed in agriculture, to move interned Japanese into harvest work, to stop federal employment officers from recruiting farm labor into in-

The Sunkist label was a guarantee of standard quality from hundreds of independent growers. It also symbolized the domination of the citrus market by the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.

dustrial plants, and to stop industrial operators from employing farm workers.⁶²

After Congress did authorize the

importation of Mexican farm laborers—*braceros*—the government put recruiting in the hands of the Farm Security Administration, which brought in such inadequate and poorly selected men—Mexico City bartenders, clerks, and taxi drivers not “naturally adapted to agricultural work”—that Teague joined protesters before the Senate committee concerned with farm labor. Later Congress put the *bracero* program under the War Manpower Commission, which was more careful in its recruiting. By early 1947 growers in Ventura, Monterey, and Riverside counties employed more than 6,000 of the 15,000 legal *braceros* working in California.⁶³

Though Teague never lost interest in irrigation, pest control, citrus growing, and cooperatives, in all of which he functioned experimentally and pragmatically, he remained in matters of large public policy a rural conservative and an ingrained Republican. He held with consistency to a statement he made in 1902: “I will . . . at any time do anything I can for the good of the ticket and the success of the Republican party.”⁶⁴ Or to a remark he made in 1915 when interviewed by the *Santa Paula Chronicle* at a time of low Wilsonian tariffs and the coldest summer on record (which meant little demand for lemonade). When the reporter asked what he thought would most help the town, he replied, “. . . the thing that would most improve Santa Paula is a return to a Republican administration.”⁶⁵

After Franklin D. Roosevelt took over the White House and then Upton Sinclair came close to taking over the Governor’s Mansion,



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Teague developed increasingly—though with inevitable inconsistencies—into an ideologue for the vanishing status quo. He belonged to exclusive clubs and to numerous right-of-center organizations such as Better America Foundation, National Security League, Americanism Education League, National Association of Manufacturers, and the Agricultural Council of California. He read and underlined their literature and went to many of their meetings.

In much private spluttering, in letters to Republican cronies, and in speeches he took solid standpat positions, clearly reasoned from his point of view. He spoke at length against initiative measures proposed for or appearing on California ballots that would make regular payments to residents over sixty years of age, or provide \$30 every Thursday (the “Ham and Eggs Plan”), or exempt homes up to an assessed valuation of \$3500 from taxes, or repeal the sales tax, or reapportion the Legislature.

Lemon packers at Teague’s Limoneira Ranch. Teague regularly employed Japanese and Mexican workers. The labor-intensive, year-round work meant that the positions were permanent and the work force stable despite low wages.

As head of the State Chamber of Commerce Committee for California Against the Unicameral Legislature, he spoke for the American Legion of California, the State Association of County Supervisors, the California Real Estate Association, and similar groups when he argued against the proposition as one backed by labor and “left-wing radicals” who want higher taxes, freedom to picket, freedom from court injunctions in labor disputes, and state-financed unemployment cooperatives. He defended the present system of checks and balances—a Senate elected geographically and controlled by rural California and an Assembly elected by population and controlled by urban California.⁶⁶

He headed the State-Wide Council Against the Single Tax in a cam-

paign that included not only farm leaders but, as well, the California Teachers' Association, the California Federation of Women's Clubs, the California League of Women Voters, and the State Chamber of Commerce.⁶⁷

In an address to the Stanford Graduate School of Business Administration, where he served for six years as a consulting professor (for \$1 a year), he took aim at the Roosevelt Brain Trust. He had known all kinds of people, he said, but it was businessmen, big or small, who had "good judgment," horse sense. Geniuses in the sciences and professions had "not developed to any degree this important quality." Though he knew politics was a branch of business, he felt apprehensive about the current tendency to put professors of sociology and political science high in government "because of their unusual scholastic attainments." They "have had no practical experience and . . . have given no proof that they possess the quality of good judgment."⁶⁸

During the summer of 1934, when Sinclair was drawing crowds with the slogan "End Poverty in California" (EPIC) Teague served as chairman of the United for California Non-Partisan League, working with presidents and managers of business such as Pacific Mutual Life, Southern California Edison, and Bullock's Department Store.⁶⁹

After Sinclair lost the governorship to the G.O.P. incumbent, Teague addressed a Whittier College audience in Pasadena on "The Future of American Democracy." He noted that Sinclair had persuaded 800,000 Californians to vote for his EPIC attack on individual initiative, property rights, the right to engage

in business at a profit, "and everything else that has made our average citizens better off than those of any other nation on earth." If the election had come a month earlier, Teague thought, Sinclair would have won. So a danger loomed. Setting up a parallel, he read a portion of the letter that Thomas Babington Macaulay wrote in 1857 to a New York Congressman. Said Lord Macaulay:

. . . institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization or both. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish, or order and property would be saved by a strong military government and liberty would perish.

Macaulay said the crisis had been delayed in America by "a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land" and a laboring population "far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World."

But the crisis will come, Macaulay insisted:

*Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the Twentieth Century as the Roman Empire was in the Fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your country by your own institutions.*⁷⁰

In this speech as in others Teague routinely reiterated the Republican Party's apprehensions and many of its phrases as Roosevelt defeated three more opposition candidates in a row. Teague viewed "with alarm

the whole program of borrowing, spending, and drinking the nation into prosperity."⁷¹ He deplored demagogues, reformers, Communists, cheap money, the enormous number of Americans on relief, the unbalanced budget, and direct subsidies. In contrast to cotton and corn, the crops he raised were not subsidized. He saw subsidies to any farming or other activity as leading to inflation, regimentation, political manipulation, and deceit as to true costs. The consumer, he said, should know the true value of food and other items and pay the full price.⁷² Yet subsidies, direct or indirect, to cultural institutions such as universities had his support. In 1930 when the California ballot carried a proposition that would exempt the Huntington Library from taxation, many farmers opposed the proposal. Teague wired the State Chamber of Commerce his support of tax exemption for "this great library devoted to public use."⁷³

During the campaign to elect Alf Landon he spoke over Radio KNX in Los Angeles. When Willkie ran in 1940 Teague wrote Di Giorgio to express his approval of the work done by the Republican National Committee toward discrediting the New Deal. Speaking of Willkie he said, "I feel that he is the man of the hour."⁷⁴

With Lord Macaulay's forecast in mind, he expressed reservations about getting into the war, partly because he believed in "moral rearmament" and peace, partly because he feared domestic disaster. "The thing I am afraid of is that we will be so exhausted in our manpower and financial resources before the thing is ended that we would have firmly established in this country a government of dictators, in

which case our greatly valued liberty and freedom would be gone."⁷⁵

National policy remained a steady preoccupation. What would happen after the unwelcome war ended? He hoped that in reconversion from military to civilian production there "would be reasonable and fair treatment to those who have gone all out in the production of war implements and munitions."⁷⁶ He reconciled himself to Dewey's defeat in 1944 by saying he expected a depression as the war ended, and after the prodigal borrowing and spending the nation would face a debacle, as did Hoover in 1929, only this time the depression would be blamed on the Democrats, who would accordingly lose.⁷⁷

While resolutely carrying on as a busy man very much a part of the public confrontations of his era, Teague faced personal problems, too, injuries when his car rolled over three times, and a mild heart attack. For two chronic ailments that afflicted him most of his life he found his own medicine, a simple product of his own orchards—lemon juice.

As a child in Maine Teague had slipped on ice and fallen under a heavy water wagon. Its wheels, made of log sections, ran over him and broke a hip bone. Years later the injured zone developed painful arthritis. During farm board days in Washington, he could walk only a block or two. He spent a week at Johns Hopkins, where doctors provided no help. They prescribed an ineffective diet that he found bad "for a person inclined to be fleshy," and a Santa Barbara doctor's diet proved no better. The best remedy, he found, was juice of lemons taken

in water each day. At first he used two or three lemons; later he used eight, two with each meal and two before going to bed, an acidic regimen that apparently did not give him stomach ulcers. He claimed, too, that juice cured a discomfort he had endured since early days: indigestion. Once when badly sunburned while fishing at Convict Lake in the High Sierra he rubbed lemon halves on the stinging area and had "immediate relief." He wrote out copy for a Sunkist ad: "Lemons for Suntan without Sunburn."⁷⁸

Teague's genial friend, Professor Cleland, whom he first met while fishing on the Owens River, once ventured "far enough into the forbidden field of generalization to describe the citrus growers of California." Cleland's quiet characterization catches Teague, his inconsistencies included. The growers are

typically conservative, prosperous, self-satisfied, cultured, clannish, intensely loyal West-of-the-Hudson-River Americans. As a group they vote the Republican ticket with unquestioning fidelity. . . . Those in southern California read the Los Angeles Times . . . , regard a high protective tariff as the keystone of American prosperity; send their children to college; give liberally to churches, charities, and every other good cause;

By stressing care in packing and developing controlled conditions for storage, Teague was able to regulate the flow of his lemons to the market to avoid sudden price swings. Here, workers individually wrap Limoneira lemons.

*support women's clubs, lectures, and concerts; build and maintain the best of schools . . . ; show genuine and intelligent concern for the welfare of their employees but decry labor unions and all forms of farm-labor organization; regard socialism, communism, and the New Deal as synonymous; and condemn all forms of federal aid to the individual—except when such aid is needed by the citrus industry itself.*⁷⁹

After Charles Collins Teague died at seventy-six the California Fruit Growers Exchange published an elegant brochure. It summed up his career and praised his character: "Intellectual and personal honesty . . . Singleness of purpose . . . Unselfishness. . . ." It appraised his mind: "He saw the fundamental principles unclouded by the details of the moment." "He sought no honors," the exchange said. "But he declined no responsibility. His handling of responsibilities honored him."⁸⁰ □

(See notes beginning on p. 70)

This essay was made possible by a special grant from the Sydney Stern Memorial Trust for a series of six biographical studies of major southern California figures.



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In Memoriam—Lawrence Kinnaird

Lawrence Kinnaird a distinguished historian, author, and teacher died on September 27, 1985, in Carmel at the age of ninety-two.

As a professor at Berkeley, Kinnaird shaped a whole generation of scholars of the American West. In addition to teaching large classes in California history, Kinnaird was in charge of graduate students in Western American history. His seminars, conducted at the famous "round table" introduced by Bolton, often enrolled more than twenty each semester. He directed a total of 125 master's theses and 35 doctoral dissertations, approximately half of which were on California themes. Today the graduate students Kinnaird guided and inspired are teaching history in all parts of the United States as well as serving as curators of museums, directors of historical societies, archivists and other history-related professionals.

Kinnaird's own publications included: *Spain in the Mississippi Valley* (3 vols., Washington, 1946–1948); *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicolas de Lafora's Description, 1766–1768* (Berkeley, 1958); and *History of the Greater San Francisco Bay Region* (3 vols., New York, 1966). In addition, he published more than twenty scholarly articles, some of them written in collaboration with his wife, Dr. Lucia Burk Kinnaird. He also wrote book reviews for professional journals, including *California History*. From 1956 to 1959, Kinnaird was a member of the board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*.

Born July 9, 1893 in Williamstown, West Virginia, Kinnaird earned his bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan in 1915. He served in World War I as a first lieutenant and pilot with the U.S. Army Air Service. While in France he did graduate work at the University of Grenoble.

Under the direction of historian Herbert E. Bolton, Kinnaird obtained his master's degree in 1927 and his doctorate in 1928, both from the University of California at Berkeley.

Kinnaird began his teaching career at San Francisco State College in 1932. From 1937 to 1960 he taught at the University of California at Berkeley. After his retirement he was invited to teach for five additional years at the University of California at Santa Barbara. He also spent one year as visiting professor at Chatham College in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Kinnaird was appointed cultural attache to the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, Chile, after Pearl Harbor. He and his wife were stationed in Santiago, from 1942 to 1945. He was also chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Fourth Inter-American Congress of Teachers held in Santiago in 1943. After residing in Santa Barbara and Palm Springs, the Kinnairds settled in Carmel in the early 1970s. He is survived by his wife. His passing will be mourned by those who knew him and by the large body of historians whose work he influenced.

S·T·R·A·N·G·E T·E·R·R·I·T·O·R·Y F·A·M·I·L·I·A·R L·E·A·D·E·R·S·H·I·P

The Impact of World War II On San Francisco's Black Community

by Albert S. Broussard

The Second World War brought significant social, political, economic and demographic changes to black communities throughout the nation. The West was no exception. Blacks migrated to western cities in unprecedented numbers to work in the wartime defense industries, and West Coast cities like San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, and Seattle attempted to integrate thousands of black migrants into their communities between 1941 and 1945. The war also brought changes in race relations in western cities as blacks challenged longstanding racial barriers and pushed for full equality. Black activism in Western cities, however, predated the Second World War, and the struggle against the increased discrimination that accompanied wartime opportunities was led by men and women already experienced in protest.¹ Historians examining this period have described it as a critical turning point with little acknowledgement of either important continuities with the past or the ambiguities of wartime progress. Richard M. Dalfiume, for example, has asserted that "anyone studying

American race relations from the years 1939-1945 will find it difficult not to conclude that this period marks a watershed in recent Negro history." Dalfiume believed that these years were critical in the development of black militancy and assertiveness throughout the nation, and he called the World War II era "the forgotten years of the Negro Revolution."²

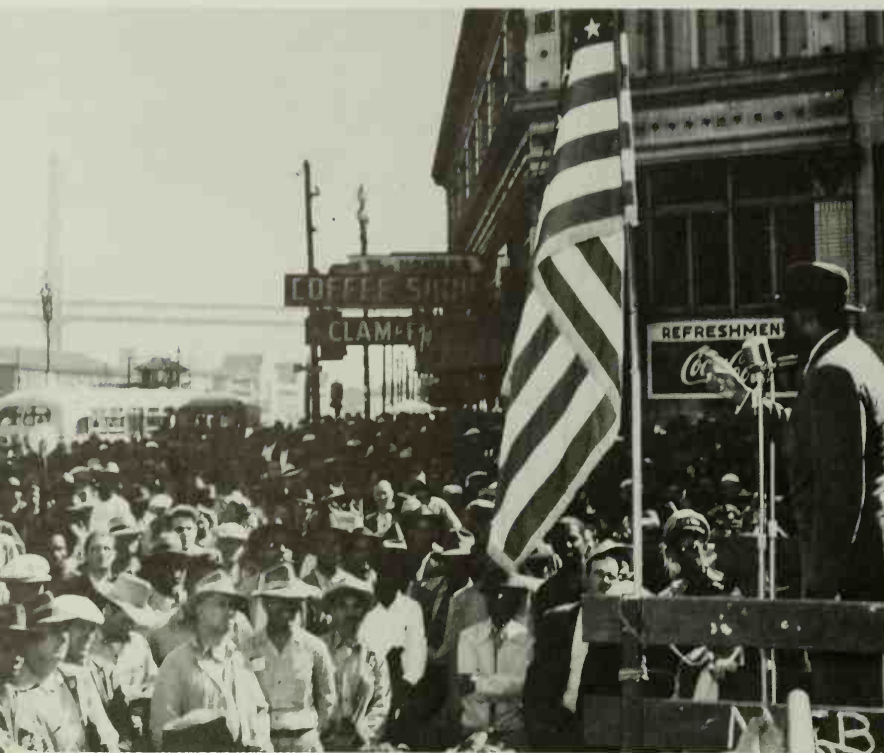
However, few studies have explored the impact of World War II on blacks in the West, and the Dalfiume thesis remains substantially untested. Gerald D. Nash, in a recent study on the impact of World War II on the West wrote: "Wartime mobilization brought rapid changes in the relations between minorities and their fellow citizens in the West." On the eve of war, Nash continued, black westerners were "passive and subdued, excluded from many spheres of the region's activities." He concluded that World

Migration to San Francisco brought friction between ethnic groups and competition for resources. Housing was particularly hard to find for newly arrived blacks. Photograph by Minor White. CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

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WHITE MAN ONLY



NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM

War II had a "crucial impact" in the West in "stimulating the movement for equal rights."³ This essay will evaluate the impact of World War II on San Francisco's black community, and illustrate the continuity of prewar ideology and programs with the transition in black leadership that occurred during the Second World War era.

More than one million blacks left the South during the war; most of them migrated to northern and western cities in search of better paying jobs. California, in particular, was a focal point for western black migrants. The statewide increase of 258,900 in black population between 1940 and 1950 was greater than the volume of black migration to any other state. Eighty-five percent of all western migrants came to California, and most crowded into large urban centers like San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, and San Diego. San Francisco's black population increased by more than six hundred percent between 1940 and

The end of the war brought massive layoffs for shipyard workers, with black workers particularly hard hit. Here Paul Robeson addresses a meeting sponsored by the Committee on Maritime Unity during a strike in 1946.

1945. By 1950, 43,460 blacks resided in a city that had contained fewer than 5,000 Afro-Americans a decade earlier. More blacks migrated to San Francisco between 1940 and 1950 than the combined totals of every decennial census of San Francisco's black population in the previous nine decades.⁴

Many factors had curtailed the growth of San Francisco's black community prior to 1941. Blacks found it extremely difficult to advance in other than unskilled, menial jobs. Most labor unions also excluded blacks or segregated them into "Jim Crow" auxiliaries, making it difficult for blacks to advance in the skilled and semiskilled sectors. The Great Depression also curbed black migration into San Francisco, as the menial jobs that blacks occupied were the first to be eliminated in periods of economic distress. By 1940, more than fifteen percent of black San Franciscans were unemployed, and the black press did not encourage Afro-Americans to migrate to San

Francisco to better their economic prospects.⁵

World War II, however, transformed the nation's economy, and the San Francisco Bay Area suddenly became a haven for black migrants. The immediate availability of jobs in defense industries provided the major impetus for the large black in-migration into the Bay Area. By 1943, according to the local Chamber of Commerce, the Bay Area was the "largest shipbuilding center in the world."⁶ Blacks migrated to San Francisco by the thousands each month between 1941 and 1945, crowding into established black settlements, such as the Fillmore District in the Western Addition, and creating new ones, such as Hunter's Point. Sue Bailey Thurman recalled that blacks were "scattered all over the city in 1942," when she first arrived. By 1944, when she returned to San Francisco, there were almost "40,000 blacks living in the city," she estimated. "It had changed in just that time."⁷ Similarly, the local Urban League's executive director, Seaton W. Manning, wrote that the "migration of Negroes into San Francisco and the Bay Area is still continuing and I find it hard to believe that there are any Negroes left in Texas and Louisiana."⁸

This dramatic increase in population had several significant consequences. By 1945, blacks became a majority of the city's non-white population, forging ahead of both the Chinese and the Japanese. Between 1940 and 1945, their proportion of the non-white population increased from fifteen percent to fifty-eight percent.⁹ The large number of black migrants from southern states such as Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma also gave the city's black community a decidedly southern flavor, much to the dismay of many longtime black San Franciscans. During the post-war era, blacks would celebrate "Juneteenth," the day that Texas slaves learned of their emancipation.¹⁰ This day had little meaning to black San Franciscans before the war. Finally, white San Franciscans were much more likely to have contact with blacks than ever before in

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jobs, schools, and public accommodations. Prior to 1940, according to Charles S. Johnson, who conducted an extensive study of black war workers in San Francisco, "the small number of Negro inhabitants were to some degree lost in the city's population complex."¹¹ By 1945, however, blacks were the most visible non-white group in San Francisco and, for the first time, competing with whites for housing, employment, and public facilities.

The large black migration prompted particularly intense competition for housing. Although San Francisco's wartime housing was in short supply, the city avoided the chaos and violence of a northern city like Chicago, where three-fourths of the racial incidents reported by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations involved housing.¹² Nonetheless, the competition for housing heightened racial tensions and prompted a more rigid pattern of residential segregation than was evident before the war. "[Housing] segregation is practiced almost rigidly with the use [of] occupancy clauses in deed and leases restricting colored races to certain well defined areas of the city," reported the *Christian Science Monitor*.¹³ Housing discrimination was so widespread in San Francisco that Davis McEntire, professor of Social Welfare at the University of California, estimated that "not less than eighty to ninety percent of the residence areas in the San Francisco Bay Area communities are closed to non-Caucasian entry."¹⁴ Charles S. Johnson noted that "underlying the entire question of Negro housing in San Francisco—both public and private—is the issue of residential segregation."¹⁵ Similarly, Seaton W. Manning wrote that "it is not necessarily by choice that Negro families live in the Western Addition."¹⁶ By 1960, Tarea Hall Pittman, acting director of the NAACP's West Coast Regional Office, testified before the United

Joseph James singing at the launching of a ship at the Marinship yards in Sausalito, Ca. 1943. James was a leader in the efforts of black shipyard workers to win equal treatment.



NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM

States Commission on Civil Rights that "residential segregation based on race is the general rule in the towns and cities in the West."¹⁷ Thus, rather than serving as a catalyst to gain improved housing opportunities, World War II stimulated increased white hostility to black residential integration in San Francisco and intensified residential concentration in the black community.

Black San Franciscans made their greatest gains in the employment sector. By 1943, black workers comprised almost thirteen percent of the labor force in the Bay Area's four leading shipbuilding companies.¹⁸ In other areas, racial barriers toppled at a much slower pace, although blacks gained positions in jobs from which they had heretofore been excluded. In 1942 after a bitter struggle, the San Francisco Municipal Railway System hired Audley Cole, its first black conductor. By 1944, Harry Kingman, the Fair Employment Practices Committee's West Coast regional director, reported that "700 Negro platform operators" were employed.¹⁹ The San Francisco Unified School District also broke the color barrier in 1944 when it hired Josephine Cole, the city's first black teacher.²⁰ Other blacks gradually began to make inroads into professional and white-collar employment. While black workers continued to lag behind white workers, they were also aware that San Francisco's labor force had fewer racial barriers than before the war and that limited mobility was possible.

World War II also raised the expectations of black San Franciscans that full equality might be achievable. Robert Flippin, a prominent black leader and social worker, believed that San Francisco was "in the embryonic stage of developing a truly democratic[,] mutually agreeable and successful pattern of biracial living."²¹ Thus, a recent black migrant, such as Joseph James, used this occasion to challenge successfully the system of segregated auxiliary unions through the courts.²² Several blacks wrote Franklin D. Roosevelt to protest racial discrimination in the workplace. "I am a

Negro and I am coming to you for help, because we know that you have proven to be more than a president to our country," wrote one black to the President.²³ Still other blacks wrote FDR protesting discrimination in the military, merchant marine, and trade unions.²⁴ These letters revealed that some black workers believed that they possessed an ally in the White House, but they also illustrated a sense of urgency among black San Franciscans to eliminate the remaining vestiges of racial discrimination.

Despite their small numbers, black San Franciscans had not been "passive and subdued" before World War II—as Gerald D. Nash concluded about black westerners in general. Quite the contrary, they had fought racial discrimination wherever it reared its head from the turn of the twentieth century. The San Francisco branch of the NAACP, organized in 1915, had challenged the showing of the movie, "The Birth of A Nation," protested discrimination in Civil Service employment, New Deal Programs, and public accommodations. The branch also supported the NAACP's national anti-lynching campaign and its efforts to free the Scottsboro boys and sent contributions to assist blacks after the 1917 race riot in East St. Louis.²⁵

Given the activism of San Francisco's black community prior to the war, it would be inaccurate to conclude that World War II produced a "watershed" in black consciousness. Nor did the war radically change the programs, ideologies, or strategies of San Francisco's black leadership, in spite of a significant in-migration of educated and professional blacks. The wartime black leadership, much of it composed of new personnel, differed not in the nature of their demands for racial equality, but rather, in the urgency of their message. These men and women played an active role in the Bay Area civil rights struggle during the 1940s and the 1950s, and they were prominent figures in organizing local chapters

of the National Urban League and the National Council for Negro Women.

One of the most significant changes in black leadership during the wartime era was the willingness to form interracial alliances to fight for racial progress. The NAACP had been the only effective interracial organization in San Francisco prior to 1940, and whites had never played a major role in the local branch's affairs. After 1940, however, blacks and whites were almost zealous in courting one another, and whites played a much greater role in several local civil rights organizations, including the Bay Area Council Against Discrimination and the Council for Civic Unity. No longer were whites merely token executive board members and welcomed into these organizations principally for their status in the community and their financial contributions. By the end of the war, whites were as likely as blacks to be heading a Bay Area civil rights organization. Of the seven leading civil rights organizations in San Francisco between 1940 and 1946, only the local chapters of the NAACP, National Urban League, and National Council of Negro Women retained consistent policies of electing black chief executives. The Bay Area Council Against Discrimination, Council for Civic Unity, American Council on Race Relations, and California Federation for Civic Unity, though interracial, were dominated by white officers and board members.²⁶ Blacks did not protest the presence of whites as presidents and executive directors of civil rights organizations as they would during the 1960s. Instead, San Francisco's interracial leadership appeared to reach a consensus that achieving racial equality required a joint effort.

Photographer Minor White titled this 1949 image "Jap Church, Post & Webster." Black workers migrating to San Francisco during World War II found housing in areas from which Japanese had been forcibly removed for wartime internment. When wartime employment ended, many of the jobs available to the migrants were in service rather than industry. CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO





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Labor leader C.L. Dellums in 1946.

Howard Thurman and Seaton Manning epitomized the new black leader who operated with a broad interracial constituency. By the outbreak of World War II, Howard Thurman was among the most respected black theologians in the nation. A prolific scholar, Thurman wrote almost two dozen books during his lifetime. He also occupied academic posts at Morehouse College, Howard University, and Boston University. The editors of *Life Magazine* felt that Thurman demonstrated such promise that they named him one of the ten most influential ministers in America.²⁷

Thurman resigned from his comfortable position as Dean of the Chapel and Professor of Religion at Howard University because he welcomed the challenge of establishing an interracial alliance between black and white San Franciscans. In 1943, Thurman was invited to pastor an interracial church in the city's black community. Alfred G. Fisk, a Presbyterian clergyman and professor of philosophy at San Francisco State College, would ultimately take to hyperbole in his effort to sway Thurman to move to the West Coast. "San Francisco, so it seems to me

now, is doomed if you do not come. There is no one in the nation who could do what you could do here," Fisk unabashedly exclaimed. Indeed, racial tensions had magnified as a result of the large scale black influx within a relatively few years. But there was no indication that quick tempers produced Fisk's dismal portrayal of "tensions rising to the breaking point, the outbreak of violence and more general rioting only averted by a hair's breadth."²⁸ San Franciscans had not gone that far.

Howard Thurman was deeply moved by the challenge that this opportunity provided and began making preparations almost immediately to relocate to San Francisco. However, Thurman's open pronouncements that God and destiny were both playing some part in his decision, did not prevent him from encouraging his contacts to use their influence to support this endeavor. He assured Fisk that Channing Tobias and Mary McLeod Bethune "have offered to write their friends around the Bay urging them to give every encouragement by attendance and in other ways to the project."²⁹

Within six months, the experiment was officially launched. The church, officially named the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, was the first "fully integrated" church in America, according to Thurman. Fellowship Church catered primarily to the city's black elite and white liberals. Within a decade after its organization, Thurman moved the church out of the black community altogether, fearing that it would become a predominantly black church and lose its original purpose. Nonetheless, Howard Thurman illustrated the type of new black leader who served San Francisco's multiracial communities, rather than the black community exclusively.³⁰

The success of an Urban League branch in San Francisco also depended upon interracial support. The National Urban League Field Secretary, Reginald A. Johnson, had urged Dr. Daniel Collins, one of the organizers of the San Francisco

branch, to include "representative key white persons" on the planning committee. Collins concurred, and the sponsoring committee included Harry L. Kingman, FEPC regional director Alfred G. Fisk, Reverend A. Morgan Tabb, rector of the St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church, and Reverend Frances Drescher of St. Benedict the Moor Catholic Church. Apparently, the National Urban League office had hoped that these white liberals would help the local chapter secure the necessary funding as well as add a measure of prestige to the organization.³¹

When the branch was formally organized in 1946, Seaton W. Manning served as executive director, a position he held until 1960. Despite Manning's broad base of interracial support, the San Francisco Urban League achieved only minimal progress during its first decade.³² Moreover, the sharp reduction in the wartime labor force was catastrophic for many black workers, and the Urban League could do little to reverse this trend. Blacks throughout the entire Bay Area suffered a disproportionately high unemployment rate relative to white workers between 1945 and 1950. In 1946, non-whites, primarily blacks, comprised twenty percent of all persons receiving unemployment insurance, though they accounted for only five percent of the Bay Area's population. A year later, the California State Employment Services reported that the black unemployment rate was thirty percent, and that unemployment among Bay Area black women was six times as high as the statewide rate. The sociologist Wilson Record noted disparagingly by the end of the decade: "Conservative estimates indicate that at least one-third of all Negroes in the Bay Area labor force are unable to find jobs."³³

The World War II black migration also brought a greater number of professional black women into the Bay Area than ever before. Some of these females vied for leadership positions within black organizations. Others, worked in in-

terracial societies, churches, community centers, and women's clubs. Sue Bailey Thurman and Frances Glover were typical of this emerging group of black professional women.

Sue Bailey Thurman had never allowed being a woman or her marriage to the renowned black minister, Howard Thurman, to compromise her potential. After receiving undergraduate degrees from both Spelman and Oberlin colleges, Thurman taught briefly at Hampton Institute before joining the national staff of the YWCA to work with southern and eastern colleges. She also found time while raising a family to chair the archival and museum departments of the National Council of Negro Women. Additionally, Thurman founded and edited the *Aframerican Woman's Journal*, the official publication of the National Council of Negro Women. Although Sue Bailey Thurman confessed later that she "hated leaving her work in Washington, D.C. to come to San Francisco," at the urging of Mary McLeod Bethune she organized a local chapter of the national Council of Negro Women in 1945. Supporting her husband in the day-to-day affairs of the Fellowship Church, Thurman directed the church's Intercultural Workshop and traveled extensively. Her travels included serving as a delegate to the first Inter-American Congress of Women in Guatemala in 1947, and visits to India, Burma, Ceylon, and Cuba. In 1949, she led a delegation to the UNESCO conference in Paris. In 1948, Sue Bailey Thurman received recognition in a nationwide poll as an "outstanding woman of the year."³⁴

Frances B. Glover's life paralleled Sue Bailey Thurman's in several respects, although the two women followed different career paths. Like Thurman, Glover also followed her husband to San Francisco when he was selected as the San Francisco Urban League's Industrial Secretary. Glover had also worked with Mary McLeod Bethune as an assistant in the National Youth Administration's Division of Negro Affairs in northern Ohio. Educated at West



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Virginia State College and Ohio State University, Glover served as managing editor of the *San Francisco Sun-Reporter*, the city's largest black newspaper. She also served as secretary to the board of directors at the Central YWCA and a member of the Board of Trustees of Fellowship Church. The achievements of both women illustrated that opportunities were beginning to open for black women both during and after the Second World War.³⁵

Indeed, World War II had a profound effect upon San Francisco's black community. The war triggered a black demographic revolution between 1940 and 1950, it stimulated an upsurge in multiracial activism and black protest, and it opened many new opportunities for black workers. The large black influx also broadened the black leadership class, as a sizable number of black professionals migrated to San Francisco for the first time. Gerald D. Nash argues correctly that, "War-time mobilization brought rapid changes in the relations between minorities and their fellow citizens in the West."³⁶ Nash, however, overestimates the extent of change.

Although significant, these changes were not so far-reaching that they marked a "watershed" in

Traditional organizations such as the NAACP did not change the nature of their efforts to obtain civil rights during World War II. Here staff members in San Francisco prepare a newsletter in 1947.

San Francisco's race relations. Black San Franciscans had been protesting injustices for decades before the war, albeit with mixed success. The new racial climate during the war was more favorable for the implementation of their demands for equal opportunity. Instead of conceptualizing this era as a "watershed," William H. Chafe's analysis of the Second World War is more accurate for San Francisco. "The war itself proved more decisive to the longterm history of change in race relations," wrote Chafe. "Although little was accomplished in the way of permanent progress toward equality, the changes which did occur laid the foundations for the development of mass protest activity in subsequent years."³⁷ Considerably more research is required before historians can properly assess the impact of World War II on Afro-Americans in the West. However, historians must consider continuity as well as change in evaluating the dynamics of social change and black progress during the Second World War era. □ (See notes beginning on p. 70)

THE LARKIN HOUSE



GREG AL CORN

REVISITED



by Harold Kirker



If Thomas Oliver Larkin ever thought about the possibility that the house he began building in Monterey in 1835 would become a historic landmark, he almost certainly assumed its importance would derive wholly from associations connected with his position as the only American consul to Hispanic California and the leading Yankee merchant in the Mexican province. But his house took on a significance of its own as the archetype of a distinctive California domestic architecture which combined American design and Spanish building materials. The adoption of this model by both Americans and influential Hispanics also reflects the unique character of the decades immediately preceding American annexation of California, when this important compromise between competing colonial cultures was still possible. Nearly fifty years ago, Robert Parker chronicled the progress of Larkin's building project in the old *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society.¹ It is my purpose to describe the context within which Larkin developed his plans and to trace the lines along which his idea traveled to become an identifiable California style of architecture.

When Larkin reached the old California capital from Boston via Honolulu in April, 1832, Monterey had been officially open to foreign trade for only ten years. This reflected the Spanish crown's view of California as a military outpost rather than a field for colonization in the Anglo-American sense. Gaspar de Portolá's exploratory expedition to California in 1770—which established Monterey as a presidio—was conceived as a mission to forestall England's drive from Canada down the Pacific Coast and to contain Russia's southward advance from the recently discovered Aleutian Islands. Because Monterey was maintained as a strictly military establishment, Alejandro Malaspina could report in 1795 that only seven ships had visited the presidio in the first two decades of settlement even though the town had been designated the capital of California in 1777. The development of Monterey as a proper town commenced when Mexican independence from Spain was belatedly announced in 1822 and the port was formally opened to foreign trade.

The construction of the Larkin House and the development of a regional architecture known as Monterey Colonial or the Monterey Style² was the result of the capture of the California trade by New England merchants after Mexican independence. Visiting Monterey in 1827, Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly noted that "all of the houses existing today, the larger number of

The Thomas O. Larkin house in Monterey.

which belong to foreigners, have been built since the independence of Mexico."³ The first of the foreigners to build what this French trader, author, and artist called "quite agreeable" houses of adobe and tile was the Englishman William Hartnell, who arrived in Monterey the year the former Spanish presidio was opened to international commerce. Hartnell was soon joined by Larkin's half-brother John Rogers Cooper, husband to General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's sister Encarnación, master of the Mexican brig *California*, and later harbor master at Monterey. While Larkin himself apparently came to California to straighten out the tangled finances of his half-brother, he quickly became the province's leading merchant. Larkin and his bride—the first American woman to come to California—moved into Hartnell's Monterey house in 1834 when the Englishman retired to a life of ranching. It was from Hartnell's adobe that Thomas Oliver Larkin and Rachel Hobson Holmes Larkin planned and directed the construction of their own house.

The extent to which Yankee trade transformed the architectural character of Monterey can be seen by comparing the drawing Duhaut-Cilly made in 1827 with a pair of lithographs Thomas Larkin commissioned from Charles D. Gildemeister of New York to promote interest in California throughout the eastern United States. The lithographs represent Monterey in 1842 and show the five vessels of the United States Pacific Squadron, whose commander Thomas ap Catesby Jones seized the town on October 20 under the mistaken belief that Mexico and the United States were at war. The restoration of Mexican sovereignty on the following day was accomplished through the diplomacy of United States Consul Larkin. But although postponed, California's American destiny is clearly indicated in the transformation of the planless village depicted fifteen years earlier by Duhaut-Cilly into something akin to a New England seaport. The two major thoroughfares of present-day Monterey are already defined: Calle Principal terminates at the dwelling of the foremost foreign resident, Thomas Larkin; Alvarado Street extends to the house of Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado, reputedly the second two-story adobe constructed in California. Both streets begin at the waterfront site of the custom house, rebuilt as a two-story structure by Larkin between 1841 and 1846. It was here that the American flag was finally raised officially by Commodore John D. Sloat on July 7, 1846 in a ceremony proclaiming California part of the United States with Monterey its capital.



The artist who painted the watercolors from which the lithographs of the city and harbor of Monterey in 1842 were made is not presently known; however, the general authenticity of his work as evidence of an emerging architectural style is attested by written records. The recent dwellings of Monterey, observed a German visitor in 1842, "are prettily built timber houses . . . with shingle roofs."⁴ A second European visitor in the same year noted that some of the buildings "attain the dignity of a second story. . . . All [are] built of adobe."⁵ Here, in picture and prose, is the earliest evidence we have of the Monterey Style whose prototype, the Larkin House, has been described by one of Monterey's recent historians:

*The building . . . reflected the colonial influence of the eastern seaboard. . . . Two stories high, with glass windows, a center staircase, an upstairs fireplace, and redwood shingles for the roof, the Larkin home resembled its neighbors only in the adobe brick that was used for its construction.*⁶

In using familiar Massachusetts models to design his Monterey house, Thomas Larkin followed traditional colonial practices. The unintentional creation of an architectural style resulted from the need to adapt north-eastern American building forms to immediate material requirements. Larkin's use of adobe was no romantic gesture to Hispanic culture; it was a reluctant but necessary concession to a temporarily inadequate supply of labor and equipment which made it impossible to mill enough of the available redwood to build a completely timbered house. Larkin did not like adobe because of its impermanence, and he was disturbed by the improvisations by which his neighbors sought to protect their mud walls from erosion. The houses, he wrote, "are much disfigured by having the south ends lumbered up with boards and brush to keep off the rain."⁷ In his own house, Larkin capped his walls with four-foot eaves. This protective device gave to the traditional American hipped roof the exaggerated rake that is one of the characteristics of the Monterey Style. By using a wood frame, Larkin was able, apparently for the first time in Hispanic California, to introduce the second story and traditional fenestration of the American Colonial house of his memory. Within the existing limits of California technology, Larkin built a New England style house to which were added heavy overhangs and wide verandas to protect the adobe walls from weather

erosion. This innovation set a pattern which was followed by Americans building where milled lumber was scarce and by influential Hispanics seeking to express their prominence with houses similar to the Monterey archetype.

Larkin began building his house in April, 1835; two years later it was largely complete at a cost reckoned somewhat in excess of \$5,000.⁸ The builder's meticulously kept account books make it possible to follow construction from day to day and serve as a rare surviving record of domestic architectural construction from the Mexican period. They show that building an American house in colonial California was an arduous and uncertain undertaking. The basic problem was the lack of an organized building profession and the necessity to import almost every item used in construction other than lumber and adobe. Glass, lead, paint, hardware, wallpaper, and household furnishings were shipped from Boston at high prices and with uncertain delivery. The woodwork on the house, both structural and cabinet making, was done largely by former shipwrights recruited among the Santa Cruz lumbermen—a notoriously undependable labor source. At the same time, entries relating to damage done to handcarves, tools, molds, and the destruction of prepared adobes indicate that the native craftsmen were often unproficient and careless. It is likely that some of these were Indians, whose mission-trained skills had lapsed with the gradual decline of Franciscan influences. The problems which beset the Monterey Style builders were summed up by Larkin's close associate Alpheus B. Thompson at the time he was trying to complete the first two-story, shingle-roofed house in Santa Barbara. "I had rather undertake to build a line of battleships in the U.S.," he wrote, "than a house in California."⁹

Larkin's house was very expensive for the period and testifies to the extraordinary business success achieved by its builder during a California residence of less than five years. The largest single item was the roof, which required 21,000 shingles and cost \$581.00 (including \$3.00 for "Rum for Raising the roof"). Modern reconstruction, as well as the earliest photographs from the nineteenth century, display a hipped roof. In the first of the lithographs of Monterey in 1842, however, the artist has depicted a gable end on the south side. In this representation, the veranda is on the east front; the west front is shown protected only by a wide

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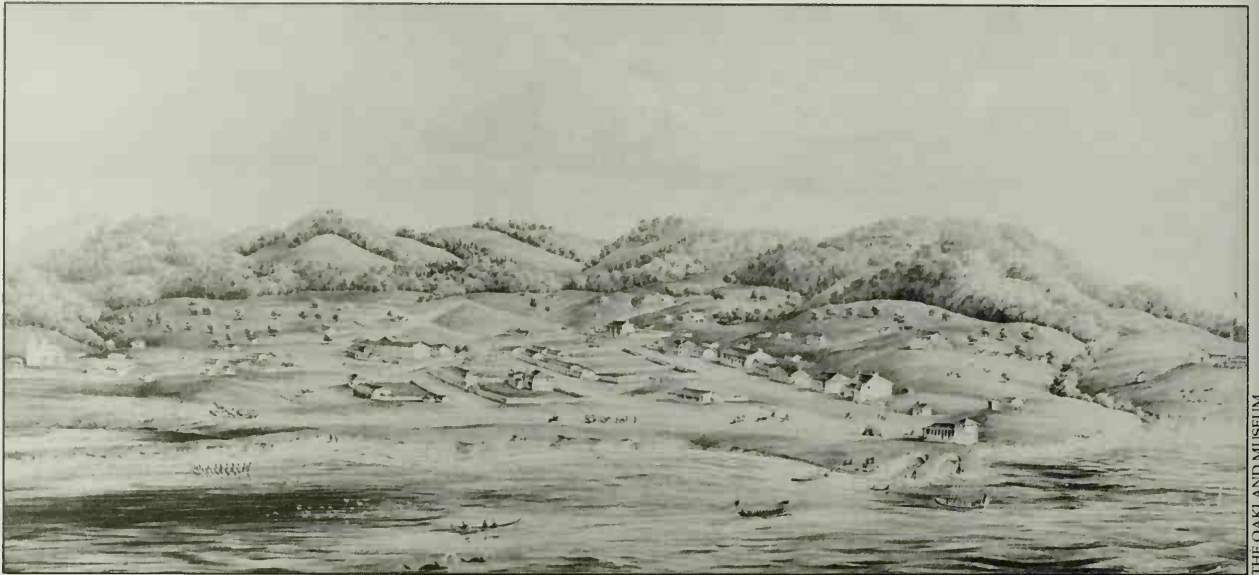
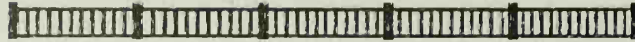
eave. Tradition has always held the house to have had a double veranda on the north as well as the east side, and this appears in the second Gildemeister lithograph. The reason for the absence of a veranda, or at least a substantial overhang, on the south is difficult to comprehend, as this is the direction from which storms generally come. Both lithographs contain images of several Monterey adobes conspicuously disfigured by the board and brush lean-tos that were so displeasing to Larkin. Yet even he originally resorted to this expedient, as is explained in a letter describing "a scaffold [sic] of boards to keep of [sic] the rain" erected on the south end of his house.¹⁰ Larkin made that observation in 1843; six years later, when he sold his house to Jacob Primer Leese, it is probable that the temporary scaffold had been replaced by the double veranda that has been historically associated with the south front.

It is difficult to judge the specific architectural accuracy of the Gildemeister lithographs. The artist who did the original 1842 watercolors is not known. Scholars in the Bancroft Library have suggested he might have been William Henry Meyers, a gunner on the United States Sloop-of-War *Cyane*, which is shown at anchor in the first lithograph.¹¹ A comparison of Meyers' charming but undeveloped style with the practiced and architectonic quality of the lithographs makes him a doubtful candidate. More probable is Jeanne Van Nostrand's assumption that the watercolors are the work of the French artist Victor Prevost, who was certainly in California in 1847 and may have been on the coast five years earlier.¹² The lithographs were done in New

View of Monterey in 1827 drawn by Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly and here reproduced from his Voyage autour du Monde published in Paris in 1834. The small cluster of buildings scarcely constituted a village.

York City in 1850, after Larkin had left Monterey. Their purpose, to attract eastern interest in California, had been made superfluous by the Gold Rush. The lithographer, a German architect as well as artist, took obvious liberties with his subject. For example, he showed the east front of Larkin's house as having five columns with capitals rising from the ground to the roof instead of the post and beam double veranda that is unquestionably authentic. Aside from this distortion, which gives Larkin's house an exaggerated prominence, the artist failed to show the two-story veranda on the west side of the barracks and omitted the balcony entirely from Governor Alvarado's house.

It was clearly Larkin's intention that his property should be prominently shown in the paintings of Monterey reproduced for circulation in the eastern United States. In a memorandum dated June 3, 1843 and designated "Notes for picture No. 1 of Monterey," Larkin wrote: "Dwelling house of Thomas O. Larkin. Walls lower story 33 inches thick, upper story 22 inches. Shingle roof. 3 chimbleys [chimneys]. Length of house about 60 Ft. by 40. Fourteen rooms."¹³ The two other buildings belonging to Larkin and visible in the first lithograph are, again quoting from his memorandum: "Two story house 20 or 22 ft. square. . . . Upper story used as . . . grain house, lower hired out. Single roof. Ware house (two story). . . . Shingled roof." Imbedded



THE OAKLAND MUSEUM

in this memorandum is the confusing statement: "first two story house built in 1834 & 1835 by Juan B. Alvarado & Thomas O. Larkin." In a letter written the same year to the editors of the *New York Sun* explaining the general use of adobe in California as a building material, Larkin repeats this sentence but with a significant inversion: "First two story houses built in '34 and '35 by T.O. Larkin and Juan B. Alvarado."¹⁴

The longstanding assumption that Larkin built the first two-story adobe in Monterey rests upon the lack of documentation for any earlier house, the fact that excepting adobe wall construction the Monterey Style houses were American both in building technique and basic architectural styles, and that Larkin, the principal foreigner in the province, possessed most fully the knowledge and means—particularly his control of the lumber industry—by which such a prototype could be constructed. Moreover, Larkin was notoriously independent in his spelling and inaccurate in his use of dates, especially relating to building. Thus while his account books specify the beginning of construction on his own house in 1834, it is a matter of record that the land for his house site was not purchased until the following year. Larkin's unintentional inaccuracy of dating in his private accounts could also have expressed itself in his observation regarding the date of Alvarado's adobe, which was built on land that was originally the property of the governor's uncle Jose de Jesus Vallejo and already contained a house foundation. A house was apparently constructed upon this existing founda-

The "first" Gildemeister lithograph showing the "Harbour and City of Monterey, California in 1842." Larkin's house is in the lower left. The ships in the harbor belong to the United States Pacific Squadron, which seized Monterey on October 30, 1842 in the mistaken belief that the United States was at war with Mexico. Note also the brush lean-tos which protect adobe walls from the weather.

tion in the style that only Larkin of the two builders could have initiated. Without documentation regarding the construction of Alvarado's house, we are left with circumstantial evidence—which indicates strongly that the Larkin House deserves its historic significance as the first two-story adobe in Monterey.

The interior of the Larkin House has undergone undocumented transformation. As originally built, the first floor was divided into a store and storeroom, with a central staircase mounting to the second floor in which were located the family living quarters. In the second-story family rooms was placed the furniture known through the account books to have been imported: one desk, two sideboards, two looking glasses, twelve chairs, one bedstead. Seven years after the completion of his house, Larkin imported another set of American furniture, including four sofas, two dining tables, one round table, and four large pictures in heavy frames. These additions arrived in time for the lavish entertainments incumbent upon the United States Consul in California; they were especially welcomed by Mrs. Larkin, who on occasion was driven to the necessity of bringing large pumpkins into the house to serve as seats for her guests.¹⁵ Some of this furniture is reputed



to have been returned when the house was purchased in 1922 by Mrs. Alice Larkin Toulmin, the builder's granddaughter.

Like many colonials, Larkin built so far as it was possible from the memory of his former home. He had to accept adobe wall construction and hence deepened the eaves on one front, scaffolded another, and appended on two sides the double veranda that became the signature of the Monterey Style. But whatever his need to modify traditional construction, stylistically Larkin exercised his American colonial preference for the old-fashioned dwellings which he knew in Charlestown and Boston, where his family had been settled since the seventeenth century. Although the Greek Revival is associated with the Monterey Style, there is little evidence of it in the Larkin House. Greek Revival architecture reached California after American annexation, and the Monterey houses which incorporate Greek detailing, such as the French Consulate, were built after 1846. One critic asserts that much of what passes for Greek Revival in California could more properly be called Delayed Georgian.¹⁶ This truly defines the prototype Monterey Style house: a plain, rectangular dwelling with central stairhall, interior shutters, and large, many-paned windows. In fact, it is the absence of any of the applied decoration which passed for style in America in the second quarter of the nineteenth century that gives Monterey architec-

The "second" Gildemeister lithograph of the "City of Monterey, California in 1842." Larkin's house is on the right at the end of Calle Principal. Governor Alvarado's two-story adobe is at the end of Alvarado Street in the center.

ture its characteristically maritime masculinity.

There is little figurative or even written corroboratory evidence of what Larkin's house looked like at the time of the builder's residence. There are no known contemporary views by visiting artists such as Joseph Warren Revere, William Hutton, or Charles Guillou. Thomas Colton, himself an amateur architect and long sheltered under Larkin's roof, relates only that the house "has always been the home of the stranger"; what is lost to history because of Colton's reticence is suggested by his piquant observation:¹⁷ "It is past midnight, and I have just come from the house of T.O. Larkin, Esq., where I left the youth, the beauty, the wisdom, and worth of Monterey."

William Dane Phelps, master of the ship *Alert*, a trusted friend of Larkin and possessed of a reputation as an epicure, mentions the house only in reference to a dinner given there following a shooting party in Carmel Valley in November, 1841.¹⁸ Midshipman Frances Guillemard Simpkinson of the H.M.S. *Sulphur* undoubtedly had Larkin's house in mind when he summed up the state of architecture in Monterey in 1837: "There are one or two decent houses belonging to the foreign merchants but the greater part of them are poor habitations."¹⁹ The Maine sailor William Thomes, a recipient



of Larkin's hospitality in 1843, described the Consul's house as "the most pretentious building in Monterey."²⁰ Thomes, rated by Bancroft as a "remarkably accurate" witness, gives an intimate picture of Larkin at the height of his California reputation:

*a gentleman, whom we supposed to be a Mexican, as he was dark and thin, a man about forty years of age . . . with a slight stoop to his shoulders, dressed as a European, except that he had a brightly-colored serapa around his neck, and a broad-brimmed sombrero, with a silver cord, and two little silver tassels hanging down over the rim. . . . He was a liberal, hospitable man, and always entertained strangers and sea captains with the best that his house afforded.*²¹

Among the hospitable gestures offered the sixteen-year old Thomes were the loan of a complete set of the works of Sir Walter Scott which the youth read as "we cruised up and down the coast," and a dinner consisting of "the best beans that ever grew, . . . tortillas, bread, real soft-tack, and a bottle of native wine."²² This picture of Larkin, the man at home in old Monterey, complements the architectural evidence assigning him preeminence in promoting the cultural compromise between Yankee and Mexican that makes the decade immediately preceding annexation unique in the history of California.

The presence of a double veranda on a New England house has been the subject of some conjecture. This particular form was introduced into the environs of Boston in the early nineteenth century, presumably from the South. The American origins of the two-story veranda can be found in the French Colonial architecture of the Mississippi Valley—where the most famous extant example is Connelly's Tavern in Natchez, Mississippi (ca. 1796)—and the British West Indies, from which it was introduced into South Carolina in the early eighteenth century.²³ Larkin, who lived in North Carolina between 1821 and 1831, makes diary mention of "piazzas" in at least two entries, and he correctly ascribes this feature in regional architecture to South Carolinian origin.²⁴ An equally likely source for the type of veranda Larkin introduced into California were two well known hostelries in the neighborhood of Boston, the Nahant Hotel and the Norfolk House. The latter, less than four miles from Larkin's native place, was probably much frequented by the youthful bachelor during visits home from his southern business.

Another New England influence difficult to evaluate was the widow Rachel Hobson Holmes, who arrived in Monterey in 1833 to become the bride of Thomas

Larkin. Until then, the Yankee merchants had married among the local gentry and settled into Hispanic houses and life patterns. Typical of these was Larkin's half-brother Captain John Rogers Cooper who married a sister of General Vallejo and only much later built a Monterey Style house. The extent to which Mrs. Larkin's determination to live in the kind of dwelling she knew in Massachusetts influenced the planning and construction of the Monterey archetypal house is not revealed in the builder's account books. But Ipswich, her native town, was filled with sturdy eighteenth-century houses which could have served as easily as models as those of her husband's Charlestown. It is even possible that Larkin's wife's dowry contributed to the building of their house. In a letter written from North Carolina on May 11, 1831, to another half-brother, Ebenezer Larkin Childs, Larkin debates whether to return home and marry a cousin of some wealth or go to Monterey, where "if I chose to marry there I should do so, providing I had any (say a little) love for the lady and the lady had loot enough for me."²⁵ He met his future wife on the voyage to Monterey. By every indication the marriage was successful, whether leavened or not by "loot enough" to contribute to the building of the house in which five of their six children were born.

It soon became the ambition of the wives and daughters of the leading *Californios* to follow Mrs. Larkin's example of living in California in an American house. Given the state of provincial communications, the speed with which the Monterey Style spread to every part of occupied California is remarkable. The chief means of transmission may have been an extraordinary network of Hispanic kinships, the key to which is General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Not only was Vallejo the most extensive builder in the Monterey Style but almost every other Monterey Colonial builder was in some way connected with him or his family. Larkin himself was brother-in-law to the general's sister, Encarnación (Señora John Rogers Cooper); another sister, Rosalia (Señora Jacob C. Leese), became the second mistress of the Larkin House when her American-born husband acquired the property in 1849. The much restored Casa Amesti in Monterey was built for a third sister, Prudenciana, and it was she who transformed it into something resembling its present form. Governor Alvarado, who presumably built the second Monterey Style house, was Vallejo's nephew, although they were of the same age. Another well known two-story Monterey adobe, the so-called Casa Soberanes (1841), was



constructed for a Vallejo cousin, José Rafael Estrada. And in Los Angeles, Vallejo's uncle Vicente Lugo erected what in 1844 was one of the finest "American" houses south of Monterey. Through his mother and wife, Vallejo was connected with the influential Carrillo family of San Diego and Santa Barbara, whose most notable member, Carlos Antonio Carrillo, had five daughters married to Americans—chief among whom was Alpheus B. Thompson of Maine, who built the first Monterey Style house in Santa Barbara.

The greatest monument to the architectural ambitions of the Vallejo family is the adobe begun by the General in 1836 on his 66,000-acre Petaluma ranch on the outpost of Hispanic settlement some ten miles west of Sonoma. This massive manorhouse-fortress, the most extensive structure in the Monterey Style, was essentially completed in four years by an American, Mexican, and Hawaiian labor force principally directed by George Yount, an American trapper who trained the crew that constructed and shingled the roof. General Vallejo's official title was "Military Commandante of the Northern Frontier," and he administered his vast domain from headquarters on the plaza of the Pueblo of Sonoma, where he and his brother Salvador, and their brothers-in-law Jacob Leese and Henry Delano Fitch, all built houses for their Carrillo and Vallejo wives in the style Larkin introduced into Monterey at the beginning of the turbulent and critical decade leading to American annexation.

The Monterey Style houses have remarkable stylistic consistency. Whether constructed in the capital itself, in distant Los Angeles, or in the northernmost settlement, there was little deviation from the Larkin prototype, the only major variant being the substitution of a projecting second-story balcony (*corridor*) for the customary double veranda. One of the earliest authenticated examples of the cantilevered balcony is on the house built by William Garner in Monterey in 1843 and depicted in a contemporary sketch by William R. Hutton.²⁶ Garner, a skilled carpenter who worked on Larkin's house, is known to have employed Mexican craftsmen both in his logging operations and his Monterey building projects, and it is probable that he learned this familiar Hispanic form from his workmen. The lithographs of Monterey in 1842 reveal no overhanging balconies, although several important houses that today carry this appendage are illustrated. One of these is the adobe of Larkin's half-brother, Captain Cooper, whose balcony and entire second story were added after 1850. Two other notable Monterey houses,

the Casas Soberanes and Amesti, also acquired balconies after American annexation. It was the plaza of the Pueblo of Sonoma—the most northern Hispanic settlement—that contained the largest concentration of balcony-bearing houses in the provincial period. Most of these represented Vallejo kinships and several have survived in varying states of authenticity. But the general's own house, the *Casa Grande*, which was destroyed by fire in 1869, had the double veranda popularized by Larkin and not the overhanging second-story balcony usually depicted.²⁷

With the advent of the Gold Rush, the center of California's government, trade, and culture moved north. Larkin and his family followed the fashion to San Francisco in 1849, having exchanged their Monterey house for real estate in Northern California owned by Jacob Leese. Nine years later, Thomas Oliver Larkin died there of typhoid fever; Mrs. Larkin lived until 1873, reputed to be the richest widow in California. Leese, the new owner of the Larkin House, was a native of Ohio who arrived in Monterey in 1833 and married a sister of General Vallejo. A series of business failures forced the family to open a boarding house on Calle Principal directly opposite the Larkin House, and it was in this clapboarded, shingle-roofed structure that Robert Louis Stevenson stayed briefly in the summer of 1879. Stevenson described Monterey during this visit as "a place of two or three streets, economically paved with sea-sand."²⁸ From an architectural viewpoint, the fact that the development of California from a provincial colony to a leading American state hardly included Monterey was a gain rather than a loss. The town's long quiescence enabled a few score houses from the Hispanic period to survive into the first decade of the twentieth century. The Larkin House was sold at that time to Robert Johnson, a mayor of Monterey, who demolished the wood frame appendage and began reconstruction of house and garden. In 1922, Alice Larkin Toulmin purchased her grandfather's house for \$10,000. She not only carried forward the work of reconstruction but furnished the house with treasures she and her husband, Sir Henry Toulmin, collected largely in England. The splendidly decorated interior of the Larkin House represents nothing of provincial Monterey but is a collaboration of Mrs. Toulmin and the Chicago decorator Francis Adler Elkins, who occupied the neighboring Casa Amesti.²⁹ Mrs. Toulmin deeded her grandfather's historic adobe to the State of California in 1957 as a monument to Monterey's colonial architecture. □

(See notes beginning on p. 70)



MY EXPERIENCE IN THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE OF SAN FRANCISCO

by Chester Charles Lincoln

Edited and annotated by Harry J. Johnson, Jr.



COURTESY OF HARRY J. JOHNSON, JR.



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On Wednesday morning, the 18th day of April, 1906, when I woke up at about 5:15 the things in my room were jumping up and down, and the house was rocking back and forth like a baby's cradle. [The earthquake struck at 5:12 a.m., lasted 65 to 75 seconds and had an estimated magnitude of between 7.8 and 8.6.] At first I thought it was the wind but soon realized that no wind could make the house rock so much. Then I knew it was an earthquake. I jumped out of bed as soon as I could and put my clothes on. The gas jets in my room would not light. I suppose the pipes had been broken. I had no sooner got dressed when I heard someone call "Chester!" and turn the knob of the door at the same time. It would not give an inch, so Mr. Hart, the man in whose house I was staying, knocked it in for me and told me to come out of there. About the first

thing I did when I got out of the room was to go down to the sidewalk and look around me. The house we were living in was built on artificial ground and had settled down. Someone told me that the police station, which was one block from us [at Fourth and Clara], was down with several men under it. I ran down there and saw that the police station and the Phelan branch of the public library, which was adjoining, were both shaken down to a heap of bricks; but someone told me that all the men had been gotten out and I went back. When I was coming back along Clara Street I took a look at the buildings around me. Most of them were out of plumb somewhere. Some were knocked in and some out. People were running and shouting in every direction and were dressed in all kinds of clothes. Some had nothing more than a blanket wrapped around them.

Photographer Arnold Genthe titled this image taken from Nob Hill "Steps That Lead to Nowhere." In the background are the lights of the Mission district and the ruins of San Francisco's new city hall.

(Opposite page) Chester Lincoln (right) with his cousin Clement (center) and his brother Carl (left) in the summer of 1906.

Most of the women were afraid to go back into their houses and were standing in the middle of the street, while the men were working here and there knocking in doors and carrying out those who had been hurt.

I looked around for the nearest fire and saw one at Sixth and Howard streets. I ran over there and saw that two buildings were burning and the fire was gaining headway rapidly. Several fire companies were trying their best to get control of it, but they could not get much water and did but little



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Chester Charles Lincoln was born March 12, 1891, in Monticello, Napa County, California, the third of nine children. He went to San Francisco in 1905 to work as a messenger boy in the law offices of J.L. Kennedy, Esq. In 1917 he graduated from the University of California. He married Marjorie Nunn of Yountville, California in 1922. They resided in the Los Angeles area and had two children, Chester and Carolyn. He died in 1979 at age eighty-eight.

Chester's employer, J.L. Kennedy, asked him to write an account of his experiences in the disaster, which he did. When Kennedy died in 1941, his sister returned the account to Chester. His daughter, Mrs. Carolyn Johnson, recovered the document when Chester died and sent copies to her nine children. It is published here with the permission of Mrs. Johnson and with the assistance of her son, Harry J. Johnson, Jr., a graphic production specialist at a San Francisco advertising agency.

good. [The earthquake had broken most of the water mains.] We heard that a man and a woman were in one of the burning buildings which had been shaken in by the earthquake. We ran up to it and tore a few of the boards away. We could see the woman a way back under there, pinned down under one of the scantlings [framing lumber] and calling for help. We could not see the man, but soon the firemen who had the hose saw that all hopes were gone for putting out the fire. They kept the hose in front of them and rushed into the flames. I thought it would be the last of them, but they soon appeared bearing the man they had risked their own lives to save. He was conscious and pointed back into the building, crying for us to save his wife. Then he fainted and was taken into a saloon nearby. We pulled scantling after scantling out of the way in order to get to the helpless woman, but it was no use. The fire got there, the building fell

Refugees making their way along Market Street to the ferries. Jack London commented, "Never, in all San Francisco's history, were her people so kind and courteous as on this night of terror. All night these tens of thousands fled before the flames . . . They had left their homes burdened with possessions. Now and again they lightened up, flinging out upon the street clothing and treasures they had dragged for miles. They held on longest to their trunks, and over these trunks many a strong man broke his heart that night. The hills of San Francisco are steep, and up these hills, mile after mile, were the trunks dragged. Everywhere were trunks, with across them lying their exhausted owners, . . ."

over towards us, and we had to run to get out from under it.

I went down onto Fifth Street where a five-story hotel was afire. While I was there a man appeared in a window of the top story, gave a yell, and jumped out onto the sidewalk. I suppose he had seen the fire and had lost his head. When he struck the sidewalk he was mashed to a jelly.



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When I got back to the house word had come that our building was to be blown up by dynamite and that we would have to get out. The alarm afterwards proved to be false, as the building burned to the ground and was not blown up, but at the time we could not tell whether it was true or not. We packed a few of our valuables in a grip, I got my gun, and we put them all on a truck Mr. Hart had brought from the Overland Freight and Transfer Company. He said he was going to haul them to a safe place. I then took the typewriter, which belonged to a friend of ours, over to where one of their friends lived in South Park, three blocks away. I came back to see if I could do anything else, but as I could not I walked over to South Park with Mrs. Pixley and Mrs. Hart. When we got there I tried to ring up the office on the telephone but could not as the wires were all broken or disconnected. I sat down to rest for about five minutes and

then went out again and climbed the hill to Second and Harrison streets. I got a fine view of the fire from there. It was very near the gas tanks which were on Howard and Fifth streets. Everyone was afraid that the tanks would explode. While I was watching the blaze I happened to think of one of the office books which I had left in the house. I had a key, so I went back and got the book. I then struck out for the office in the Parrott Building¹ but when I got to Howard and Third streets I saw the Call Building² burning, and a man told me that I could not get to the Parrott Building. As I was in a hurry anyway I did not try further. I hurried up to Fell Street where my uncle, Mr. [Charles] Jewell, lived, to see if he and his family were safe. Uncle Charley had gone down to the [Southern Pacific] railroad office to see if they needed him. My two cousins, Maebelle and Ethel, were there alone, their mother having gone to Calistoga some days before.

Broken streets at Eighteenth and Howard after the rubble had been cleared. "All the cunning adjustments of a twentieth century city had been smashed by the earthquake," wrote Jack London. "The streets were humped into ridges and depressions, and piled with the debris of fallen walls. The steel rails were twisted into perpendicular and horizontal angles. The telephone and telegraph systems were disrupted. And the great water-mains had burst."

Their house was an awful sight. The chimney had fallen through the roof, landing on one corner of their bed. They had jumped out at the first shake and so were uninjured. The dishes in the cupboard were smashed to pieces all over the floor. In the parlor the vases were in pieces on the carpet.

I stayed a few minutes, then borrowed Maebelle's wheel [bicycle] and rode back to where I had left Mrs. Pixley to let her know I was safe and to tell her that I would



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stay with Ethel and Maebelle for a while. I started at 11th Street and rode down to Folsom Street. The fire was burning on one side of the street but had not got across. I should not have tried to ride down that street, but after I had started I could not turn back, and I had to ride fast to keep from being scorched. After I had seen Mrs. Pixley I rode back. As I was going I saw several dead bodies being carried out of houses that had been shaken down by the earthquake. When I got there I found that Uncle Charley had come home and was very sick. He got into bed, and Maebelle got him some seltzer water to drink as the water in the house had been turned off. We cleaned up things in the dining room and parlor and sat down to rest. Soon we went out on the street again and heard that there was a fire at Gough and Hayes streets, about a block from the house we were in. I went over there and found that quite a large

house had caught fire. A woman had started a fire to try to cook some breakfast and the fire had caught from the broken flue.³

I went back and told Uncle Charley that we were sure to be burned out soon. Before that we had felt quite safe as we thought the fire would not cross Market Street. He got out of bed, and I asked him if one of the houses he owned in Bernal Heights was not vacant. He said it was, but said it had probably been shaken down by the earthquake. I told him I would take Maebelle's bicycle and go out and see if we could not move out there. The fire was within a half block of the house when I started, and I had about three miles to ride over the broken up streets. Large crowds of people were all over the streets and I could not ride very fast without running over someone. When I got to 20th Street I was riding on Valencia Street. I had got out of the crowd and was riding at a good rate

Remains of the Southern Police Station at Fourth and Clara streets. Old and often poorly built brick and frame structures, which predominated in the working class South of Market district, were most vulnerable to earthquake damage, and it was in this area that the most deaths and serious injuries occurred.

of speed when I came up against a rope which had been stretched across the street. I tried to turn quickly, but the asphaltum was wet and slippery. I took quite a little fall but I had no time to see if I was hurt or not. I got up and went on and found the house safe and sound, so I went back. The fire had not reached Uncle Charley's house when I got there, and I was glad to see that I had been in time. They had started to pack up things, and Maebelle and I were fortunate in engaging an express wagon to take the things out to Bernal Heights. We loaded the wagon with what things we thought most necessary: clothing and bedding, dishes, and



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what else we could, but we had to leave all the furniture except one bedstead. I went with the driver to show him the way to the house. The others promised to come right out on foot.

When we got the things unloaded and in the house, the driver and his team went back to town and I sat down to wait for the folks to come. The house in which we had put the household things was on top of a hill and I had a fine view of the burning city. I took the opera glasses, which we had saved, and for about two hours watched the streets for the folks. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon when I got to the house with the things, and when they did not arrive at four I began to be afraid something had happened to them, as Uncle Charley was quite sick when I left him. I walked back again, but when I arrived there was nothing left of what had been 251 Fell Street but a pile of smoking ashes and the back

porch, which was still burning. I saw no sign of the folks and did not know what had become of them. I knew there was little use in trying to find them in so large a city as San Francisco, so I walked back to Bernal Heights, thinking they would come as soon as they could. I was pretty tired when I got back, and as I had had nothing to eat or drink since Tuesday night but a few crackers, I was hungry and thirsty. I hoped every minute that the folks would arrive, but they did not come. I sat out on the ground until about nine o'clock p.m. and then went downtown again with another boy, hoping to run across some of the folks. But the soldiers stopped us at 12th Street and compelled us to go back. We got back at about one o'clock a.m.

I went into the house and made up a bed. I had no light of any kind, but the light of the fire shining through the window enabled me to find a blanket. I lay down and tried

A family inspecting the ruins on Fell Street near Laguna, with the ruins of San Francisco's new City Hall in the background. Note the porcelain wire carriers and tangled electrical wire in the foreground.

to go to sleep, but it was rather cold and I was worried about Uncle Charley and the girls and could not sleep a wink. I got up at about five o'clock the next morning, which was Thursday the 19th. I waited and waited, not daring to leave for fear they would come and not finding me there would be alarmed about me. At about eleven o'clock Maebelle and Ethel came. I asked them what was the matter, and they said they had stayed at the house trying to save a few pieces of the furniture by moving it up a few blocks. After the house burned they had felt too tired and Uncle Charley was too sick to walk so far and they had gone to a friend's house on Fell Street. The friend's house was to be blown up so they had gone to



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Alamo Square [bordered by Scott, Steiner, Fulton and Hayes streets] and spent the night. In the morning Uncle Charley was better and had gone to report for duty, so they had come out alone and he would soon be there. He came at about one o'clock p.m. He was feeling very bad and lay down on the bed to rest.

While they were looking over their things to see what they had saved they discovered that they had left their bank book in one of the bureaus, which had been left on the corner of Octavia and Fell streets. Uncle Charley thought it would be stolen if it were left there, and he was very anxious to recover it as he thought it would be needed to get any money out of the bank, so I offered to go after it. I had to walk a long way to get around the fire. I went down Valencia Street to 20th Street, where I cut across to the Market Street "Cut." Crowds of people were all over the hills trying to get out of the way of the fire.

About fifteen or twenty soldiers were camped there. I saw one soldier order a man down from the top of a cliff where he was standing. The man may have not heard the order, but he did not move an inch. The soldier then pointed his gun at him and motioned for him to get down. Still he did not move. Then the soldier shot at him. He threw up his hands and fell over backwards, dead.⁴

I went on and found the bureau in which the bank book was; I pulled open the top drawer, took out the book and put it in my pocket.

I had a little time and I thought I would look around. The fire north of Market Street had been stopped at Octavia Street but was still burning farther north and down towards the ferry. It had made very nearly a clean sweep and had left very few buildings standing.

When I returned, they were all glad to see that I had got the bank book. Uncle Charley went down to

Would-be refugees hoping for a train at the Southern Pacific depot at Twenty-fifth and Valencia. Virtually no transportation was available within the city, but those who were able to get to rail stations and the ferries were carried out of the city without charge.

the laundry to see if he could recover the clothes which he had sent there. While he was gone, Maebelle and I took a bottle and went in search of water. We found that we could get some from an artesian well in the Valencia Street car house. It was nice and cool, and I think it tasted nicer than anything I had ever tasted before. We filled our bottle and went back. Ethel was as glad to see the water as we had been, and we drank nearly all of it. I was returning to get more when I met Uncle Charley coming up the hill. He had not got his clothes out of the laundry but he had a bucket of water with him which he had got from a sprinkling wagon. He was feeling very bad and went right to bed.



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That night we built a fire in the back yard and cooked some bacon and coffee. We had no cream to put in our coffee but it tasted fine as it was. The fire was creeping nearer and nearer. Maebelle and I sat out on the side hill until nearly midnight watching the awful blaze. It was at 18th Street [in the Mission District the fire stopped at 20th Street] when we went to bed, and we could not sleep at all as it was pretty warm from the fire. It was so light we could see to read way out where we were. We could see crowds of people on the hills and all around watching the fire.

In the morning we cooked and ate some more bacon and coffee. Then we decided to try to get to Calistoga, where our folks were. We had been able to send them no word of our safety and knew they would be worried. We started with what things we could carry at about 6:30

a.m. The boat left at 7:30 and we had to walk fast. We had a stretch of about five miles to walk and it was all hard walking. The streets were covered with broken glass, bricks, and telegraph wires. Everything was smoking, and we could hardly breathe. We were all very tired, and when we reached the ferry we were only two minutes early. Uncle Charley went to the ferry with us but would not leave the City as he was afraid he would lose his position in the railroad office, so we had to leave him. We hated to do it as he was feeling bad, but he insisted on it and said he would go to his brother's on Frederick Street. We had a little money with us so they collected full fare from us. When we got to Calistoga they were there to meet us and they had met every train since the earthquake. They were all glad to see us as they had heard some exaggerated reports⁵ about the City and had given us up for lost.

National Guard troops marching through the Market Street "Cut." Although the city was not under martial law—Mayor Schmitz remained in command—troops were deployed extensively, at first to keep civilians out of the fire zones and later to prevent looting and administer relief.

I had not had time to hunt for Mrs. Hart since I left them, but I knew that the friend's house where they had first gone had burned, and also Mr. Kennedy's house. So I was anxious about them all, but a few days after I got home I received a letter from Mrs. Hart saying that they had gone to San Leandro and had saved my gun and also the clothes I had put in the grip.

And though I lost most everything I had I was thankful to escape with my life. □

(See notes beginning on p. 70)

Special thanks to Professor Rodger Birt, San Francisco State University, and to the librarians and assistants at the San Francisco Room of the San Francisco Public Library.

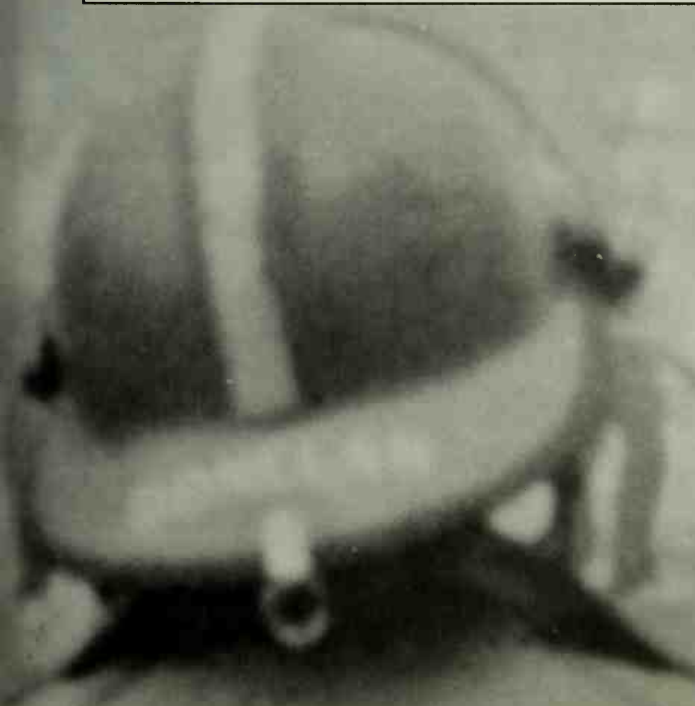
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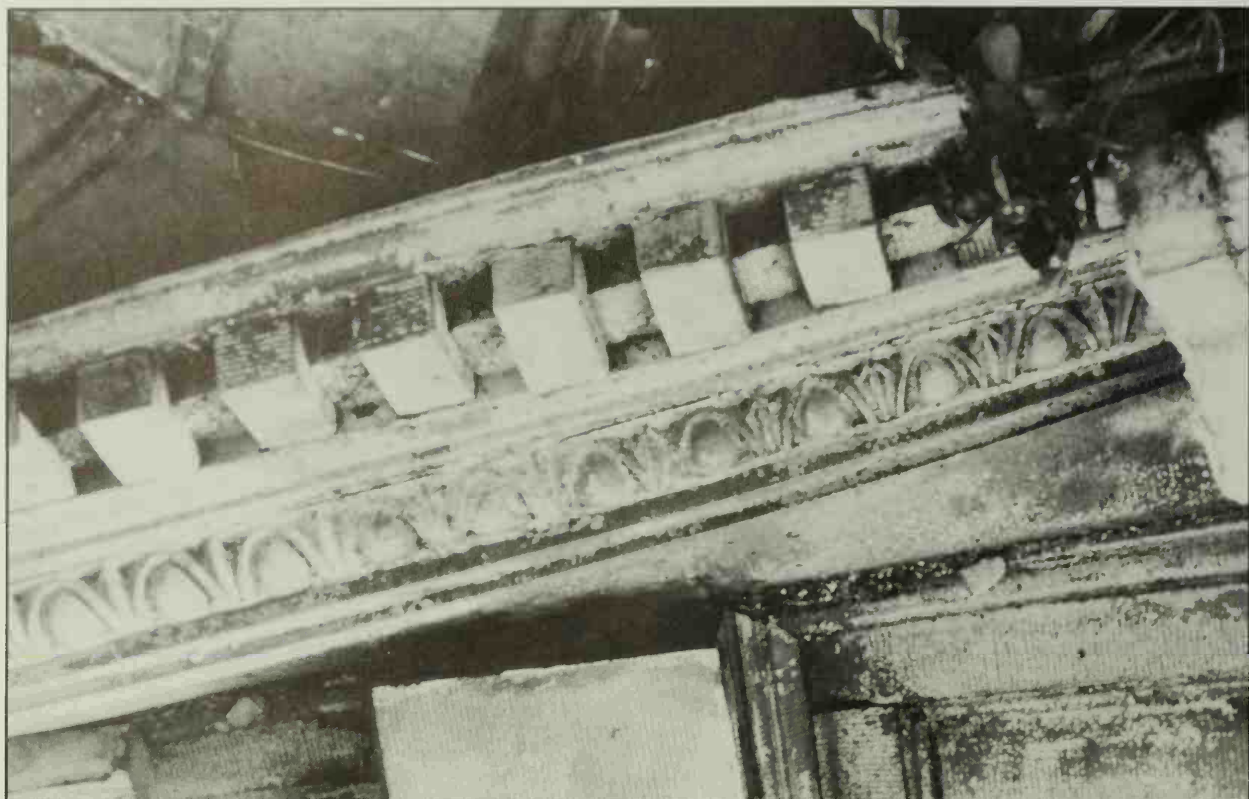
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by John Donelan

The afternoon of May 2, 1983 was warm and pleasant in Coalinga. The overhead doors of the fire station were open, and an afternoon breeze blew through the engine room. There were four fire fighters on duty: Lieutenant Ben Ramsey, Fire Fighter Dwayne Gabriel, Emergency Medical Technician Lynn Hedges, and I. In the late afternoon, usually reserved for training, we were practicing heavy rescue skills involving ropes and the mountain climbing skills of belaying and rappeling. We shared the engine room with four red engines and two ambulances. The atmosphere was casual as we knelt around a basket litter on the engine room floor and I demonstrated the technique used to lash a patient to the litter. Lieutenant Ramsey, an experienced climber and former forest service fire fighter, was familiar with the technique, but it was new to Fire Fighter Gabriel,





RICHARD HANSEN

who had been in the department only four months, and to EMT Hedges, the only female member of Coalinga's eleven-person department. In another eighteen minutes I would be off duty and on my way home. The others would be cooking dinner at the station.

Suddenly my words were cut short by what seemed to be a freight train roaring through the firehouse: with a deep rumble the building began to rock from side to side while the engine room floor rose and fell. The four of us in our tiny circle around the empty stretcher froze, staring at each other. As a native Californian, I had experienced earthquakes before. Just seven months before, in October 1982, a 5.4 earthquake had rolled through the firehouse. I waited for this one to end as all the others had; the rolling continued. The building vibrat-

ed, steel creaked, concrete fractured, the fifteen-ton fire engines bounced and bobbed. We watched the dancing fire engines and the moving walls as the floor continued to roll and walls splintered. With a boom and a jolt, earth and sky seemed to collide and explode. The fire station shuddered as if it had been struck by a giant hammer. With the sound of the apparent detonation, we bolted for the open doors of the engine room. I had never experienced such violence in an earthquake.

"Stand in a doorway, stand in a doorway." From birth, we had all learned what to do in an earthquake. Fire Fighter Gabriel and I dashed for the closest doorway, five feet from where we had been kneeling. Another thought took over. For more than ten years I had been told that the fire station could never survive a major earthquake. The earth continued to roll, pitch, and shake. The doorway groaned, cracked, spewed dust, and dropped plaster. Mutually and instantaneously Gabriel and I assessed the situation. "To hell with standing in the doorways of collapsing buildings." We ran for the outdoors.

(Overleaf) Lieutenant Ramsey and Captain Donelan survey the damage to downtown Coalinga through a haze of smoke and dust.

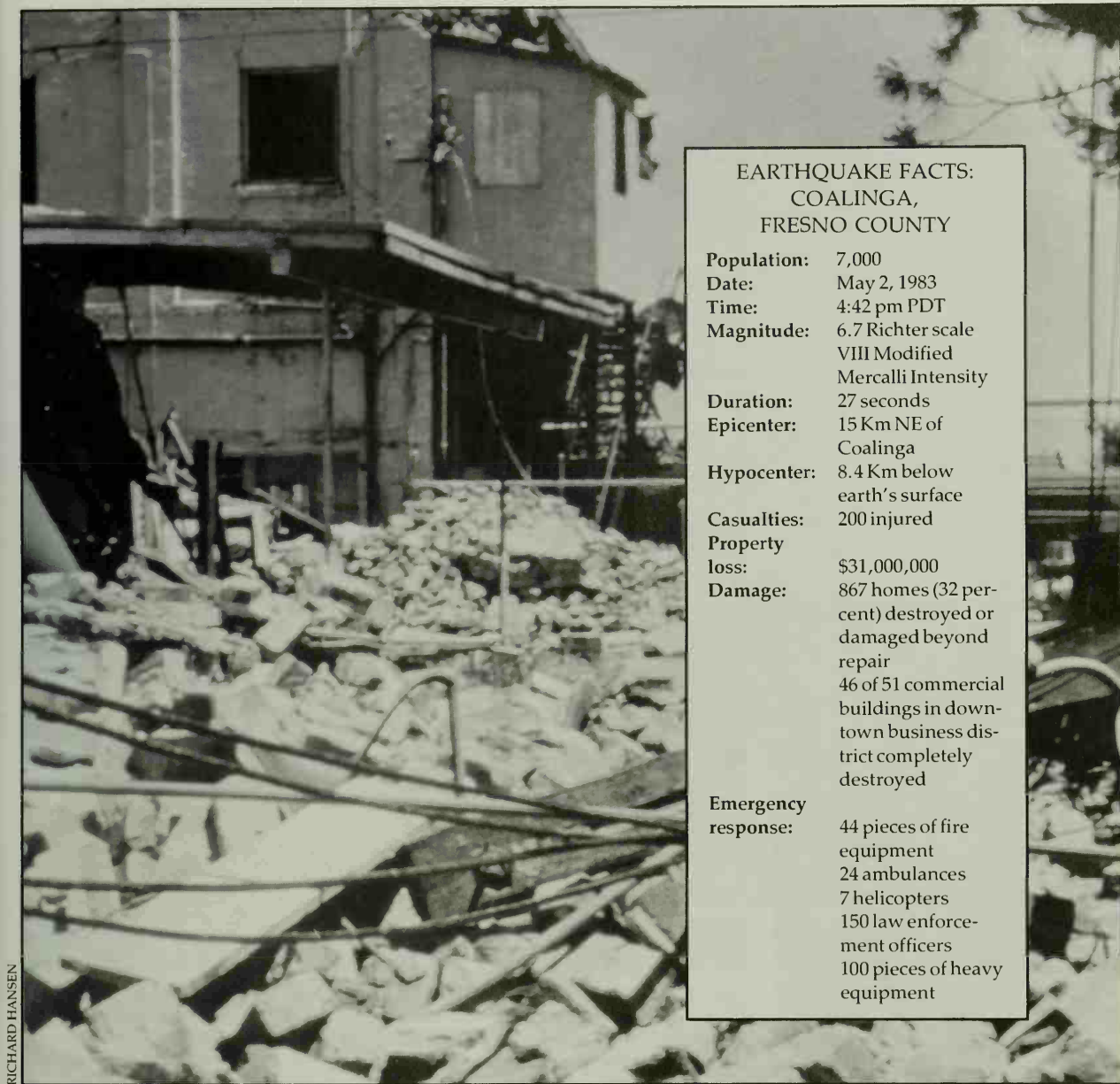
ROY HAMILTON

Many of the structures in downtown Coalinga were built at the turn of the century.

I looked back to see Lieutenant Ramsey and EMT Hedges run out of the station, then turn to watch it convulse on its foundation. The two-story concrete and steel building danced while its contents jumped from walls, drawers, and shelves to fly around rooms. Asphalt and concrete turned to jello under our feet.

I half ran, half stumbled to put as much distance as possible between me and the pitching building. As I ran across the station lawn a shadow passed over me, and I looked up to see the water tower located behind the fire station. The 125-foot tower was not only dancing, it was singing. Its steel frame flexed and strained, slackened, recovered and flexed again. Giant steel beams groaned, bolts sheered, rivets popped, and tie rods sang like guitar strings. Terrified and confused, I ran for the street in front of the fire station. Behind me, tie rods exploded like cannon fire.

John Donelan has been a professional fire fighter for more than fourteen years, rising through the ranks to Captain. He has lived in California all thirty-nine years of his life and now lives and works in Coalinga.



RICHARD HANSEN

EARTHQUAKE FACTS: COALINGA, FRESNO COUNTY

Population:	7,000
Date:	May 2, 1983
Time:	4:42 pm PDT
Magnitude:	6.7 Richter scale VIII Modified Mercalli Intensity
Duration:	27 seconds
Epicenter:	15 Km NE of Coalinga
Hypocenter:	8.4 Km below earth's surface
Casualties:	200 injured
Property loss:	\$31,000,000
Damage:	867 homes (32 per- cent) destroyed or damaged beyond repair 46 of 51 commercial buildings in down- town business dis- trict completely destroyed
Emergency response:	44 pieces of fire equipment 24 ambulances 7 helicopters 150 law enforce- ment officers 100 pieces of heavy equipment

I stopped in the street and looked in the direction of downtown Coalinga. A two-story building crashed to the street. Beyond the building, a huge dust cloud rose two hundred feet into the sky obscuring all vision. I thought, "I have a building down." From my vantage point, I could see the damage to only one city block. The building I saw fall had been built seventy years before of unreinforced masonry. Its collapse was to be expected. I could not take in the enormity of the situation all at once.

The violent rolling subsided to vibrations. The dust cloud billowed over downtown. The fire station was

still standing. It had been twenty-seven seconds since we knelt over the basket stretcher in the engine room. It was 4:42 p.m. Dinner would be late.

The four of us reentered the wrecked firehouse, where the fire engines and ambulances were still rocking from side to side. We each ran to a vehicle, jumped in, and drove it out of the station to park in the relative safety of the outdoors in a procedure we had performed so often it came automatically. Getting out of my ambulance and looking toward downtown, I could see nothing but a cloud of yellow dust. I told

A Coalinga street filled with bricks and utility lines.

Lieutenant Ramsey that I was going downtown to check things out.

I started downtown in the department sedan. The street was strewn with rubble, but I could avoid most of the debris by straddling the center line. Vehicles stood abandoned in the street, ensnared by wires, covered with bricks, doors open, occupants gone. I looked in my rearview mirror to see EMT Hedges and Fire Fighter Gabriel working on an injured man in the street. As I drove toward the dust cloud I thought



RICHARD HANSEN



RICHARD HANSEN

about the red lights and siren. But no other cars were moving—or even had people in them. The people I did see were in shock, running for cover or standing transfixed in disbelief. Others were holding on to each other or to lamp posts and street signs. They were numb. Turning on a siren or red light seemed neither appropriate nor necessary.

I thought about the fire chief in Fresno, seventy miles away. The assistant chief was in Tennessee, three thousand miles away. The ball was in my court. For at least the next hour and a half, whatever happened would be my incident, my problem. I drove into the dust cloud, losing sight of the fire station behind me. I raised Lieutenant Ramsey on the two-way radio as I absorbed the devastation piece by piece, building by

In a disaster with no deaths and only 200 injuries, a manikin testifies to what could have been.

(Left) This statue of St. Paul toppled from its perch twelve feet above the street.

building. Downtown was completely destroyed. I inventoried the destruction and relayed the information to Lieutenant Ramsey over the radio. The theater, the old newspaper building, a dry cleaner, a restaurant, the old Elks lodge, a bank, another restaurant: all destroyed.

In the very center of what had been downtown Coalinga, in the middle of the intersection of Fifth and Elm Streets, I stopped the car and looked. Bricks were piled six feet high on the sidewalks. Buildings were ripped apart, their insides exposed, contents spewing into the streets. People were down in the



streets. People were crying, holding each other. Some were running, crouching and looking upward. Cars were buried under thousands of bricks. The afternoon sun and the dust from a million broken bricks turned the sky orange. I thought, "This is just like a movie!" I radioed Lieutenant Ramsey that downtown was completely destroyed and we would need help. I told him to call for assistance. That order brought a dark thought to my mind. "What if this is the big one? What if we are hundreds of miles from the center of this quake?" If so, there would be no help. It was 4:45 p.m.

With the radio mike in my hand I got out of the car to get a better view. As I stood in the intersection, thinking about restoring some semblance of order, another jolt came. The shattered buildings rocked. More walls crumbled, bricks fell, and people began screaming and run-

ning. I held the mike in my hand and watched the cord stretch and shrink as the car rolled and bounced. The sky opened and closed above my head as the buildings moved with the earth. I regretted not having taken the time to put on my protective clothing. I tried to get back into the sedan, but it was bouncing too violently. For a brief moment I thought I was surely going to die. Where were my wife and children? How were they? I held on to the mike and waited. It was not a movie. It was definitely real.

The earth calmed once again. I stood in the intersection, still alive. I watched people run from threatening buildings, crouching, looking back over their shoulders as if they were being shot at, terrorized by the earth itself. As I watched, they seemed to discover me standing in the intersection with my red car, badge, and uniform, looking very

The Coalinga Fire Station and water tower survived the May 2, 1983 earthquake but were damaged beyond repair. The structures were later removed.

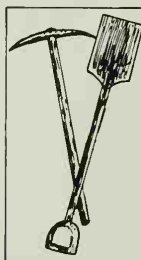
official. People started toward me. I realized I had to get out quickly or be overwhelmed by requests for aid. I climbed into the sedan and backed out of the intersection, out of where downtown had once been, out of the dust cloud.

I returned to the fire station. It was still standing after the second earthquake. I scrambled out of the car to join the other fire fighters and stare back downtown. A column of black smoke curled high above the cloud of red dust. In a way, it was relief. Fire set priorities. It gave me a place to begin. I climbed back into my sedan, this time wearing my protective clothing. Red lights blazing and siren screaming, I drove back into the dust cloud. It was 4:49 p.m. □

GOVERNORS, MINERS

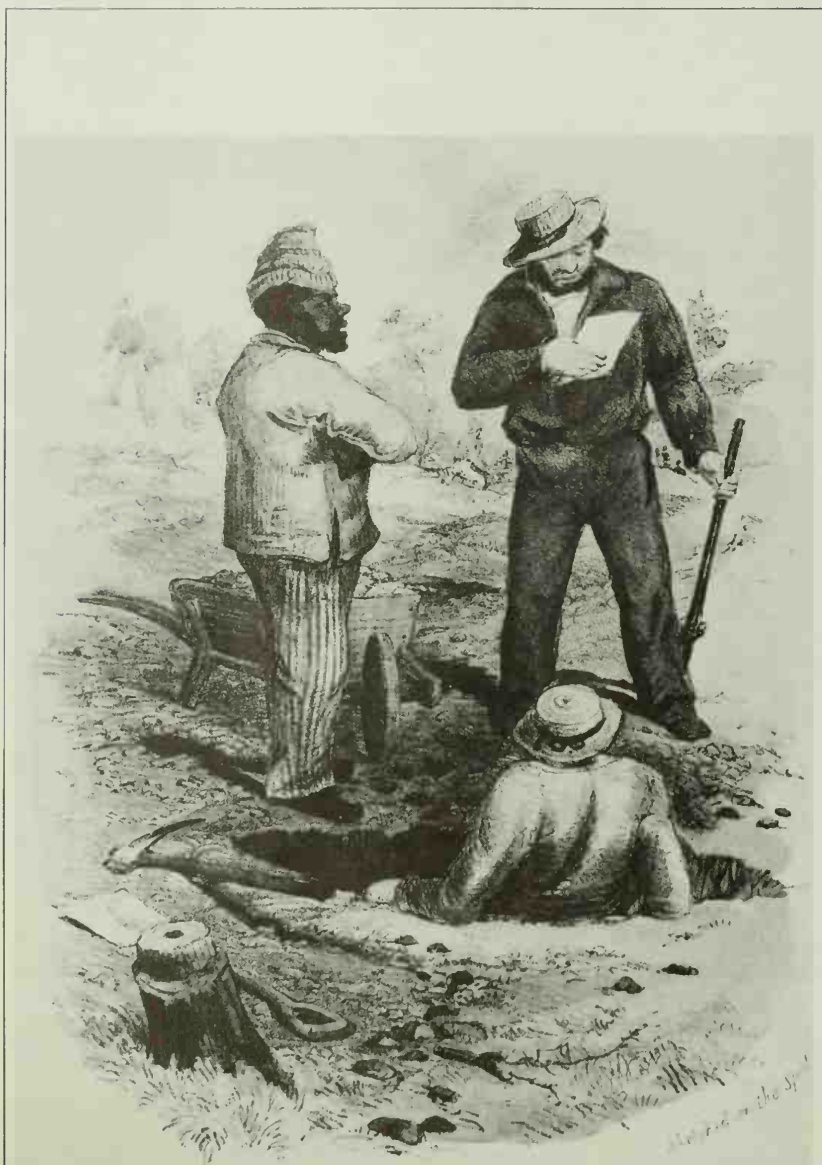
The Political Legacy of Mining Frontiers in California and Victoria, Australia

by William E. Franklin



For nearly forty years after Frederick Jackson Turner proposed in 1893 that frontier egalitarianism was a major source of American democracy, the idea was widely accepted. After Turner's death in 1932,

however, critics began to attack his thesis along a broad front, while supporters rallied to its defense. In the intellectual *mêlée* that ensued, the one approach to the question rarely attempted was comparison with other frontier experiences. Yet Turner himself had suggested in 1904 that "a comparative study of the process of settlement in the United States would be [an] important contribution." If the frontier movement in the United States were compared with that of other countries, such as "the English colonies in Canada, Australia, and Africa," he believed, there might be "fruitful results."¹ In this article, I will examine some aspects of political process during the early years of the gold rushes in California and Victoria, Australia, with greater attention to the less familiar history of the latter. Challenged by comparable frontier environments and problems, men of similar cultural and political heritage in the two settings made remarkably similar contributions to the premise that government requires the consent of the governed.



LICENSE INSPECTED.

License inspection at Forrest Creek, Ballarat.
The inscription in the lower right reads,
"Sketched on the spot."

AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

AND INSTITUTIONS

The parallels between the gold rushes in California and the Australian colony of Victoria are striking. The two occurred almost simultaneously—gold was discovered in California in January 1848 and in the Ballarat region of Victoria in August 1851. Rushes to each area followed in a matter of months. Even the terrain and climate of the Victorian gold fields and the "Mother Lode" country of California are similar, with rolling hills, occasional rugged valleys, hot, dry summers, and damp, chilly winters. The earliest populations that poured into the diggings also resembled each other: the Victorian rush was heavily British—English, Scottish, and Irish. Americans, many of British ancestry, predominated in the California rush, and some of them moved on to Victoria. Economic uncertainty plagued both rushes.

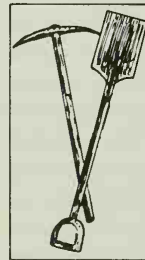
Neither California nor Victoria possessed a well-developed government when gold was discovered. California had been conquered from Mexico scarcely two years earlier; in fact, the treaty ending the Mexican War was not signed for three weeks after the gold discovery. The seething national controversy over slavery prevented Congress from granting territorial status to California, and the makeshift interim government dominated by military officers was never fully accepted by the Americans living there. The gold fields were beyond the jurisdiction of any government. Although Victoria gained status as a separate colony at almost exactly the same time as the gold discovery, it remained under the control of the Colonial Office in London. In theory, representative governmental machinery existed, but in fact authoritarian

gold field commissioners supported by police and the military controlled the Victorian gold regions. In California, dissatisfaction with inadequate institutions led to successful provisional government and early statehood. In Victoria, a series of strong and finally violent protests, culminating in a pitched battle between government troops and armed miners known as the Eureka Stockade Incident, led to more liberal suffrage and broader participation in government.

The literature of both gold rushes is characterized by the theme of social leveling and absolute equality in a primitive environment. Perhaps awareness of this was more acute in Victoria, steeped as it was in the tradition of the British class system, but California miners also frequently commented on it. In both regions, when it became apparent that not everyone would succeed in the mines and when inflation made food prices utterly unreasonable, a demand arose for a division of the land into small tracts for farmers and market gardeners. Much of California land was held in huge Spanish-Mexican grants, and in Victoria large-scale sheep farmers controlled most of the good land as squatters and wielded political influence as well.²

The list of similarities could be extended: distance from the homeland, inadequate local transportation, lack of supplies. However, significant differences between California and Victoria must also be noted for any comparison to be valid. The Australian colonies began as penal settlements, and this legacy was present in the Victorian gold fields even though Victoria itself had never been a prison colony. How important this heritage was in the

1850s is difficult to assess; Australians have only recently begun objective studies of this aspect of their history. Secondly, as an integral part of the British Empire, Victoria had the basic machinery of government, unlike the *de facto* institutions of California, although that government acted in ways which brought its legitimacy into question. Finally, Victoria was even farther from the centers of political power than California. The local governor, Legislative Assembly, and Legislative Council, whose powers were strictly limited by the English constitution, often were paralyzed for months while awaiting decisions which could be made only in the Colonial Office in London.



After its conquest from Mexico, California was in effect an occupied country governed by the ranking military officer. He took the title and role of civil governor and attempted to rule the population of Californios and Americans by blending the political institutions of Mexico and the United States. Dispensing with a legislature, the governor utilized the Mexican *alcalde* to handle local administrative problems while waiting vainly for Congress to create California Territory. The system sufficed until the discovery of gold in 1848 threw the region into turmoil.³

As thousands of miners streamed into the gold regions of the Sierra Nevada foothills and "instant cities" boomed in San Francisco, San Jose, and Sacramento, the need for comprehensive political institutions and an enforceable legal system became pressing. The sense of urgency was

particularly acute in the cities, where commerce and violent crime flourished together and where the *alcalde* system gave ample opportunity for corruption and abuse. In the mining camps, where not even the ad hoc arrangements of military government reigned, problems were solved in the time-honored fashion of the frontier by mass meetings of miners in the immediate area.⁴ Fortunately, in 1848 few crimes occurred in these areas. By 1849, "there was organized if rather rudimentary, self-government" in the camps.⁵ The first critical issue was the regulation of mining, particularly the size of mining claims. Details varied widely from district to district, but the basic concept was to protect the rights of the individual by affirming the right of the first comer while limiting the size of claims to leave room for later arrivals. W.P. Morrell notes that "the extent and richness of the locality and the difficulty of working suggested a variation in the size of claims from ten feet square at Jackass Gulch, five miles from Sonora, to fifty or a hundred feet or more along the river elsewhere."⁶ Claims were registered and a small fee paid to a locally chosen recorder. In addition, each claim was clearly marked.

The next problem facing California miners was the preservation of law and order. Despite the lack of governmental and judicial organiza-

tion, the shared assumptions of the American version of English common law provided a framework within which to construct workable procedures. The miners' meeting continued to serve as their vehicle. "All who swung a pick, all who held a claim, boys of sixteen and men of sixty, took part in the deliberations," reported Charles H. Shinn.⁷ Theft and murder were the major offenses. The penalties were banishment and hanging. Upon capture of someone suspected of a crime, a public meeting convened, a court—judge, jury, prosecutor, and defense counsel—was appointed, and a trial was held immediately, since there were no jails in which to hold prisoners. The miners promptly executed the decision of the jury and returned to digging.⁸ In 1849, the more permanent camps established regular procedures and elected men to serve in administrative and court positions.

The practice in Victoria during the earliest months of the gold rush was similar, despite the existence of government institutions which extended to the gold fields. Public meetings effectively resolved conflicts, maintained law and order, and voiced protests against license fees for mining and the highhanded methods of government appointed gold field commissioners, the police, and the military. Historian H.J. Stackpoole complained that "historians of Eureka have not sufficiently emphasized that the seeds of democracy were sown by the digger of Clunes, Buninyong and Ballarat during the first ten weeks of the gold era."⁹ When problems arose concerning claims or the rights of individuals, meetings of the miners quickly resolved them. Alfred Clarke, a correspondent for the

Geelong Advertiser, recorded on September 12, 1851, how disputes were settled:

*There is ample space to accommodate hundreds higher up the Buninyong gully and through the ranges, skirting the Leigh for miles; but new arrivals wish to warp in as nearly as possible to the established diggers; to obviate which, and to prevent future misunderstanding, the meeting was called and it was resolved that ten feet frontage be allotted to each man; and in reply to an application from some parties from the Pyrenees mining region, who applied for river frontage in a particular spot, they were informed that it was occupied but that parties in occupation would allow them a transit over it until actually worked. And further, as two parallel lines were now forming, that a right of way of fifteen feet be marked out between two lines of claims, with these restrictions—all new hands to come and choose where they pleased. So much for our legislation.*¹⁰

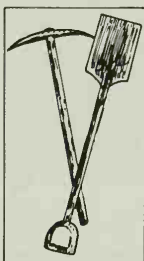
W.S. Gibbons, writing for the *Melbourne Daily News*, reported a challenge to these arrangements when on September 8 newcomers from the Clunes District began working lands previously claimed. Forced to relinquish their diggings, they complained bitterly at the size of the allotments claimed by the original miners. A mass meeting was convened at which the chairman read the regulations adopted at the previous meeting. A miner immediately moved for a declaration of the "contents" and the "discontents." The "contents" represented a large majority. "The chairman [then] announced that they were determined to uphold law and order; if disorder or violence commenced 'broken heads would not stand in the way of their quelling it.'" The next day,

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the Clunes men moved to the second row of claims, a move that proved fortunate for them, since it was there the immensely rich deep deposits were later discovered.¹¹

Little crime occurred in the mining regions at this stage. A correspondent from "Clunes Gold Diggings" reported to the *Geelong Advertiser* that he "had not heard of a single instance of dishonesty" in the immediate area. "They have too much to do of their own work without interfering with their neighbors," he continued, "and I believe that a man caught stealing would be thrashed off the ground."¹² While official machinery for administering the gold fields was quickly copied from neighboring New South Wales, its emphasis was on preserving the rights of the Crown rather than on providing for the needs of the miners. Government officials in Victoria established a license fee of thirty shillings a month for miners and created a hierarchy of officials to control the gold fields. The Ballarat miners responded by convening a mass meeting which adopted several strongly worded resolutions of protest.



Effective as they were, miners' meetings were not adequate instruments of government for the population which flooded the mining regions. In California, a murder in the mining district in

November 1848 prompted the editor of the *San Francisco Star and Californian* to ask, "Shall we have civil government in California?"¹³ The question inaugurated a season of political turmoil in which the presence of the miners brought to a head widespread resentment of the *alcalde* system. In December 1848 and January 1849, three public meetings advocating provisional government were held in San Jose, San Francisco, and Sacramento. The Sacramento meeting, closest to the gold country, probably represented most nearly the attitude of the miners.¹⁴

The Sacramentans proposed that a provisional government be formed to govern California until Congress extended the laws of the United States to the area. They supported the proposals by the meetings in San Francisco and San Jose that a con-

stitutional convention be called, and they recommended the election of delegates to a convention to meet in San Jose on March 5, 1849 "for the purpose of drafting a form of government to be submitted to the people for their sanction."¹⁵ The date was postponed, but the idea remained on the public agenda. General Bennett Riley, the military governor, following President James Polk's instructions as he understood them, opposed the various efforts to convene a constitutional convention, urging the people to wait for congressional action. But Peter H. Burnett, a lawyer who had played a key role in designing a plan of government for Oregon and had mined in the northern mines in 1848, and other leaders called for action. Throughout the spring, Burnett published long newspaper articles proclaiming the legal right of Californians to form a provisional government if Congress would not do so.¹⁶ Again Congress adjourned without providing territorial gov-

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ernment for California, but it extended the revenue laws of the United States—including import duties—over it. Fearful that the growing agitation could lead to rebellion, General Riley acted. On June 3 he issued a proclamation calling for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention to meet in Monterey on September 1.¹⁷ In San Francisco a mass meeting called to protest the Congressional action nearly erupted into violence, demonstrating that Riley's assessment of the public mood was an accurate one. It took some maneuvering for the meeting organizers to persuade the participants to back the governor's call for a convention. In general, newspaper editors supported that call as well.¹⁸

The convention met in September and drafted a short state constitution. After a brief flurry of elec-

Victorian miner's license now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

tioning, the voters overwhelmingly adopted the constitution in November and elected a full slate of state officers, including Peter Burnett as governor. In December, the elected legislature convened, the governor was inaugurated, and the machinery of government set in motion. There was no question about who was eligible to vote; the Americans in California assumed that they brought with them the political rights and privileges they enjoyed in the United States, and all white men were entitled to cast ballots. Following a long and acrimonious debate, the state of California was admitted to the Union in September 1850.

The situation in Victoria was far more complex, since ultimate government authority resided in Lon-

don in the Colonial Office. Actions by Lieutenant Governor Charles G. La Trobe and other Victoria officials were all subject to review by the Colonial Office, which was determined to maintain a tight rein on the gold fields and the revenue they produced. The individualistic miners considered both strict controls and taxation to be unreasonable because of the uncertainties of prospecting and mining. "Thirty shillings a month for twenty-six days work," wrote Alfred Clarke in the Ballarat gold fields when he heard about the miners' fee, "is the impost demanded by our Victorian czar. £18 sterling a head [per year] is the merciless prospective exaction on an enterprise scarcely fourteen days old . . . I say, unhesitatingly, fearlessly and conscientiously that there has not been a more gross attempt at injustice since the days of Wat Tyler."¹⁹ Local ineptness in administering the laws exacerbated such feelings.

La Trobe's first difficulty was in finding able men to serve as gold field commissioners, police commissioners, and other gold field officials. The British class system dictated that such officials be "gentlemen." The result at times was ludicrous. Twenty-one and twenty-two-year-old aristocrats with no experience in leadership were made gold field commissioners and assigned to issue diggers' "licenses and detect defaulters, guard the fees and gold for escort, settle disputes, and be responsible for order on his field."²⁰ In small fields the commissioner also exercised magisterial functions. Even so, the miners probably would have submitted to authority had it been applied wisely. Too often, however, the officials adopted a

haughty and snobbish attitude which the hardworking, independent miners, many of Irish, Scotch-Irish, or American extraction, found intolerable.²¹ The heavy-handedness of the police, some of whom were former convict superintendents long practiced in inhuman treatment of prisoners, also rankled the miners. Violence ensued when the government announced that police officers who arrested miners for sly-grogging and evasion of the license fee would receive half the fine they levied.

License inspections were particularly galling to the miners. A full-scale license hunt, with commissioners and mounted police out in force, resembled a military operation. William Kelly penned a classic account:

*As I gained the surface, everybody was in commotion, diggers with their licenses lowering down their mates without them; others . . . cursing the system and damning the Government; some "stealing away" like hares when hounds are in the neighborhood . . . The police, acting on a preconcerted plan of attack, kept closing in upon their prey, the mounted portion, under the commander-in-chief commissioner, occupying commanding positions on the elevated ridges to intercept escape or retreat. A strong body of the foot force, fully armed, swept down the gully in extended line, attended by a corps of light infantry traps . . . But the orders of the officer could not be heard, from the loud and continuous roar of "Joe! Joe! Joe! Damn the B----y Government! the beaks, the traps, commissioners, and all—the robbers, the bushrangers and every other vile epithet that could be remembered."*²²

Kelly had been arrested the day he arrived at Ballarat, before he had an opportunity to purchase a li-

cense. His experience was typical—except for its ending:

*The police were rude and insolent, and, pretending to discredit our statements, ordered us to march as prisoners to the camp . . . Expostulation was in vain; promises were sneered at; nothing short of . . . £5 each could procure our liberation; so off we marched in the worst of humor. The first mandarin before whom we were brought took the cue from the captor, pretending to laugh at "our ruse," assuming, at the same time an air of menace, in which he hinted at locking up in default; but on my asking "if one of his brother commissioners, to whom I had a letter of introduction from a certain person in authority at headquarters, was in the camp," the matter assumed another complexion. The other commissioner soon arrived, and glancing at the signature, he grasped my hand and shook it almost to dislocation . . . Reflecting on this, I began for the first time to think that the digger outcry against official tyranny and exaction was not altogether a baseless grievance."*²³

The miners used the only weapons short of armed rebellion at their disposal: public meetings of protest, petitions, and deputations to the authorities requesting relief. A fairly strong digger agitation developed in 1852 at Castlemaine and Bendigo primarily to protest government neglect, especially lack of police protection and poor roads, rather than to oppose taxation. Numerous public meetings were held. A petition in July complained of conditions, especially bad roads. By September rampant crime led the miners to consider lynch law. Early in October, some miners formed a mutual protection association with plans for miners' patrols, laws, and prisons. License-fee payments

would cease and the money would be used to support the patrols. Although this discussion represented the feelings of only a minority of the miners, it highlights the problems.²⁴



News of a proposed additional export duty on gold transformed minority agitation into a mass movement. A "monster meeting" convened on October 23. The carefully planned meeting adopted a series of thoughtfully conceived resolutions condemning the export duty unless it was to substitute for the license fee. Police protection was declared a "mockery" with blame attributed to the practice of assigning half-shares of fines collected to the arresting officer. A deputation was appointed to present the views of the meeting to Governor La Trobe. It was made clear that only as a last resort would the protestors refuse to pay the license fee. Governor La Trobe was conciliatory when he met the delegates, deploring the conduct of the police. One delegate even believed the governor had been uninformed about conditions in the mines. When the delegates reported back to a public meeting, the rebellious miners resolved that if the export duty were imposed, no one would pay his license fee and all would offer themselves for arrest. No change in taxation occurred.

One of the major demands of the miners was for the government to make farm-sized plots of land available to those who wished them. Thirteen hundred diggers from Castlemaine petitioned the governor in January, 1853, for local land sales. He promised that sales would

take place as soon as surveys could be completed. In April, the Colonial Reform Association, which advocated division of the land, held a series of meetings demanding immediate action. "Land must be had," wrote the *Melbourne Herald* correspondent, "and land they will obtain at any sacrifice, both of time and money."²⁵

Other incidents followed. Acting on a report from an ex-convict policeman that liquor was being sold illegally on its premises, the police pulled down a coffee house and surrounding tents, behaving brutally and evicting several families including about forty women and children. The charges proved to be false, and the informer was sentenced to five years in prison. Since the proprietor of the coffee house was one of the most respected men in the region, the diggers reacted angrily. The day after the raid they organized volunteer bodies of men and began military drill. Many of the most influential men in the community believed the district was "on the verge of revolution."²⁶ A public meeting appointed three "People's Commissioners" to arrange future meetings and negotiate with the government, which gave minimal compensation to the victims of the outrage.

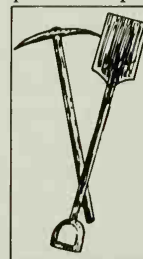
Opposition to the government shifted to the Bendigo field where twenty thousand of the fifty thousand Victorian diggers now worked. A June 6, 1853, public meeting formed the Anti-Gold-License Association. On July 2, a petition was adopted that ranged over many grievances. A propaganda campaign developed. Placards appeared all over the field urging "No chains for free Englishmen." Three delegates went to Melbourne carrying a

petition forty feet long "mounted on linen and bound in green silk."²⁷ The petitioners felt that the monthly license tax on miners was "unjust and unconstitutional in principle." They condemned the squatter land monopoly and requested that the vote be given to the miners.²⁸

The delegation had an unsatisfactory meeting with Governor La Trobe, who did "not think the public advantage to be promoted by loose and intemperate popular discussion of questions of importance as they arise or by an agitation which however plausibly defined, may be shown in sober fact questionable or uncalled for."²⁹ The Bendigo miners then chose a policy of passive resistance, offering to pay ten shillings for their September licenses (one-half the normal fee). When this fee was refused, ninety percent of them posted notices on their tents that they had not paid and wore red ribbons on their hats daring the police to arrest them. The officials wisely refrained from attempting to collect the tax. After study by a select committee, the government adopted a tax of £2 per quarter. The diggers accepted the reduced tax as a victory, thus averting immediate confrontation.

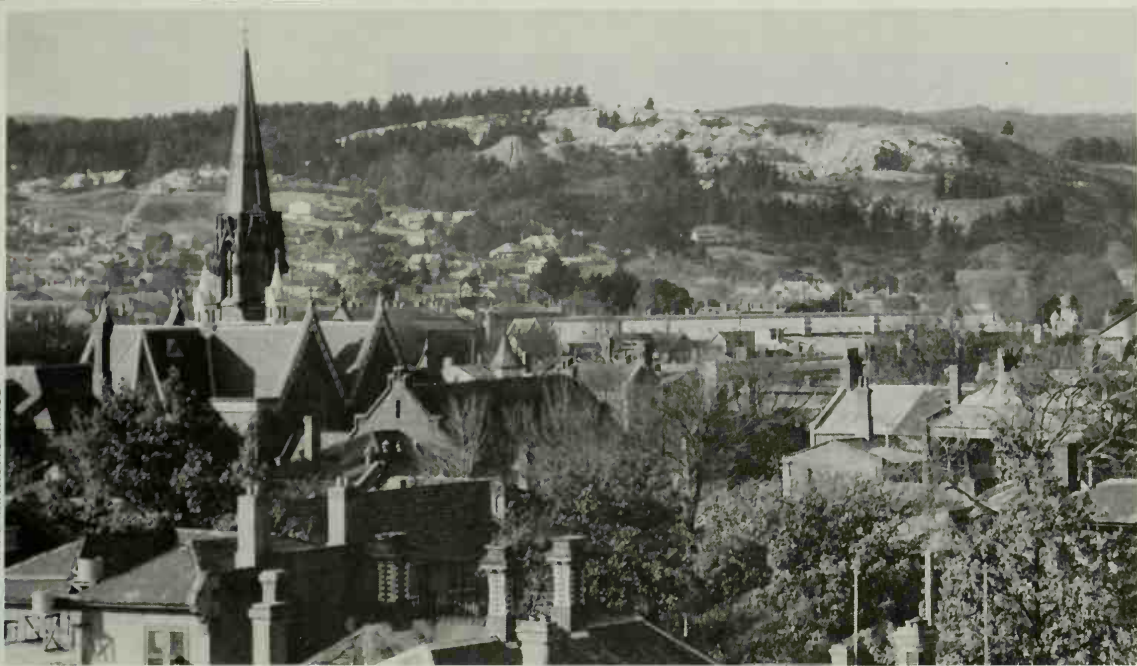
Discontent continued to rumble in the gold fields, but no major outbreaks occurred for over a year. In November and December, 1854, the eruption finally came in the form of the Eureka Stockade affair at Ballarat, hitherto one of the most peaceful of the gold fields. The chain of events leading to Eureka demonstrated how deeply the miners believed themselves to be wronged and how grossly the governing officials—local and state—mismanaged affairs.

Governor La Trobe resigned and left Australia in May, 1854. John Fitzgerald Leslie Foster, the Colonial Secretary for Victoria, acted as lieutenant governor until the arrival in August of Sir Charles Hotham, the newly appointed governor. Hotham proved a poor choice for the post. A stern naval officer who brooked no challenge to his authority, he completely miscalculated the democratic mood of the miners. Worse, he tended to treat them like recalcitrant children or discontented seamen. In mid-August, Sir Charles visited Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo, making conciliatory speeches at each stop. In Geelong, he excited many people by announcing that he intended to govern on the principle that "all power proceeds from the people."³⁰ Everywhere the miners acclaimed him, lulling him into the belief that the reports of discontent in the gold fields were greatly exaggerated. He concluded that "the mass of the diggers . . . are true hearted and loyal, and men who if well-treated may be thoroughly depended upon."³¹



Discovering that the Victoria government was in financial difficulties, Hotham determined to increase the collection of taxes. The seeming widespread evasion of the miner's license fee appalled him, and in September he ordered that license inspections (known to the miners as digger hunts) be increased to twice a week. The miners were thunderstruck.

Nonetheless, it was not taxation but what the miners saw as a miscarriage of justice which precipitated the final act of the drama—enacted



at Ballarat between October 7 and December 4. It began when two drunken Scots attempted to get liquor from the Eureka Hotel after its closing hour. A fracas ensued in which proprietor James F. Bentley and some friends kicked James Scobie, one of the Scots, to death, leaving his body to be found in the morning. Bentley was an ex-convict, and the hotel had an unsavory reputation, although it was regularly frequented by some of the local government officials. At the inquest into Scobie's death, the jury returned an open verdict, whereupon some of the dead man's friends offered testimony implicating Bentley. Bentley and two others were arrested but freed after a mock hearing before the magistrates. At an orderly mass meeting on October 17, a committee was established to have the case reopened. As the meeting broke up, some of the disgusted miners began to throw stones at the Eureka Hotel, and someone set fire to it. Bentley escaped on a borrowed horse, while the miners hooted and ridiculed the local officials.³²

Governor Hotham immediately ordered the re-arrest of Bentley and his two henchmen, all of whom eventually were convicted of man-

slaughter. Hotham also appointed E.P.S. Sturt and two other magistrates to investigate the administration of Ballarat. Although their report was largely a whitewash, it exposed corruption among the police and led to the dismissal of two particularly conspicuous offenders. Meanwhile, Hotham added 450 troops and police to the garrison at Ballarat and ordered Commissioner Robert Rede "to use force whenever legally called upon to do so, without regard to the consequences that might ensue."³³ Then he demanded the arrest of those responsible for burning the Eureka Hotel. Three men who had been among the mob were apprehended, although they were no more guilty than hundreds of others. Nevertheless, the governor determined to make examples of them. Despite a strong defense, a jury found them guilty but criticized "those entrusted with the Government Offices at Ballarat," for not doing their duty.³⁴

At this point, a small group of leaders assumed direction of what had been a spontaneous mass reaction to the incident. At a series of public meetings, the miners angrily discussed the victimization of the three convicted men and the corrup-

A modern view of Ballarat, showing some of the old gold diggings in the background.

tion of the government officials. Out of these meetings came the Ballarat Reform League under the leadership of Henry Holyoake, a chartist from London; George Black, the well-educated, outspoken editor of the *Digger's Advocate*; and J.B. Humfray, a Welsh exponent of moral (rather than physical) force with experience as a chartist in Northern Wales. Until this time, the chartists seem to have carried little weight. In the events that followed, the extent of their influence is difficult to document but seems negligible. The mining frontier was in turmoil; that some of the men who rose to leadership had chartist backgrounds is probably coincidental. Likewise, the role of American miners is difficult to determine, but undoubtedly some were involved.³⁵ Governor Hotham in his dispatches to London vainly attempted to pin blame for the uprising upon foreigners and chartists.³⁶

Five thousand miners met at Ballarat on November 1 to hear speakers of various persuasions, including Frederick Vern, an opportunistic German who "spouted red republi-



AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

canism," and Scottish chartist Tom Kennedy who represented the physical force element by quoting poetry:

*Moral persuasion is all humbug
Nothing convinces like a lick in
"the lug."*³⁷

A series of digger hunts in the following days strengthened the position of the Reform League's leaders, who presented a radical slate of proposals to revamp the entire government of Victoria at a critical mass meeting on November 11. "The Gold Commission must be disbanded and the license abolished, there must be manhood suffrage, payment of members of parliament, and no property qualification."³⁸ They urged the diggers to demand, not petition for, the release of the three prisoners. The miners noisily assented to all proposals and dispatched a delegation to carry them to the governor.

On November 16, Governor Hotham appointed a royal commission

The director of the Ballarat Fine Art Gallery inspects restoration work on the flag believed to have flown over the Eureka Stockade. The faded blue flag is made of dress material and contains small holes which experts believe were caused by gunfire. The stars of the Southern Cross were adopted as part of the Australian national flag in 1900.

made up in part of Victoria Legislative Council members to report on conditions in the gold fields. He felt no sense of urgency; since the council was in session, he did not order the commission to start its inquiries immediately. A week later, the governor received a panicky message from Commissioner Rede and private information from "a Catholic priest" which caused him to send all available troops to Ballarat.

On Monday, November 27, Governor Hotham received the delegation from Ballarat. When its members "demanded" the release of the prisoners, the governor reacted vigorously, declaring emphatically that the royal commission would investi-

gate and report to him. He would then take appropriate action. Hotham almost seemed to welcome the confrontation, perhaps hoping to establish his authority by defeating the unruly miners.

Meanwhile, tension mounted at Ballarat. "There was a ferment everywhere, the whole place was electric," remembered former Ballarat miner H.R. Nicholls many years later. "There was a feeling something must be done, and that something was to be sharp and decided."³⁹ On Tuesday night, the first skirmish occurred. The troops sent by Hotham arrived, the advance guard marching with fixed bayonets. As the main body of troops passed the Eureka lead, an Irish area, they were pelted with stones, carts were upset and looted, and the drummer was killed. The troopers returned to recover the military property and lashed out with their swords. "It was a hell of a row," declared Raffaello Carboni, one of the leading agitators, adding that "this disgraceful occurrence, coupled with firing of gun and pistols, kept up the whole of the night, did not give us cheering hopes for the next day."⁴⁰

Wednesday afternoon, a huge crowd gathered to hear the report of the delegation to the governor. Black told of Hotham's refusal to heed their demands. Peter Lalor, an Irish civil engineer, spoke for the first time. Vern moved to abolish the license fee and burn their licenses and urged "that in the event of any party being arrested for having no license, that the united people will, under all circumstances, defend and protect them."⁴¹ Two Catholic priests, attempting to prevent violence, proposed that the licenses not

be burned. It is impossible to determine how many licenses were burned, but clearly only a small minority was ready at this time to take up arms.

Thursday was the crucial day. In the morning, Commissioner Rede, under orders to maintain the law, ordered a license hunt. "We will stand for no more of this nonsense," he told digger J. C. Byrne.⁴² The diggers were peaceably at work when the license hunt began. Quickly, a crowd gathered and hooted the police, throwing stones at them. Rede read the Riot Act. The troops fired a volley over the heads of the miners, who returned a few shots. The authorities retired with half-a-dozen prisoners.

By mutual understanding, a great crowd assembled that afternoon. After some confusion on the speakers' stand, Peter Lalor spoke, proclaiming "liberty" and calling for volunteers to come forward and organize themselves into companies. Lalor said that hundreds responded.⁴³ The companies, perhaps totaling one thousand men, moved to a hilltop at the Eureka lead where they enclosed an acre of land with a rough breastwork of pit-slabs and began military drilling. Friday, great tension gripped the region. The diggers continued their drill, collected weapons and supplies, and even manufactured crude pikes. A large group gathered near the officials' camp, which expected an attack, but the crowd dispersed peacefully. On Saturday, many of the diggers had second thoughts, and most of them left the Eureka Stockade that night. Determined to put down the rebellion, Rede launched an attack on the stockade about 4:00 a.m. Sunday, December 3. The 150 or so defenders

fought valiantly, but the battle was over quickly. Five soldiers were killed and twelve wounded. About thirty diggers were killed or later died of their wounds. One hundred prisoners were rounded up (including some who had not been in the stockade) and marched off to the camp and jail. Many later reports noted undue brutality on the part of the troops. On Tuesday, more troops arrived, and General Sir Robert Nickle proclaimed martial law. The miners quieted quickly and martial law was lifted on December 9.⁴⁴ Thus ended the Eureka Stockade affair.

At this time, the action shifted to Melbourne. At first the Melbournites believed rumors that the diggers had risen in a mass rebellion that threatened order throughout Victoria. When news of the attack on the Eureka Stockade reached the city, most leading citizens pledged their support to Governor Hotham. Fifteen hundred special constables were recruited quickly as Melbourne prepared its defenses against the expected attack.

Then information filtered in giving a clearer picture of the events at Ballarat and a counter movement began. On Tuesday, December 5, a mass meeting called to express support for Governor Hotham ended, after considerable confusion, by adopting a resolution supporting the diggers.⁴⁵ On December 6, another orderly public meeting in Melbourne supported the diggers.⁴⁶ In a real sense, this marked the emergence in strength of the popular democratic movement and almost assured government assent to the demands of the miners. Shortly, pledges of support from other mining districts, especially Bendigo

and Castlemaine, strengthened the diggers' position.

What did the miners gain? Thirteen of the prisoners from Eureka were tried for high treason in Melbourne in the autumn and all were acquitted. The Gold Fields Commission recommended extensive reforms: local courts to be elected by the miners, and a Miner's Right of £1 per year which would confer electoral rights. The government responded promptly. A Gold Export Bill replaced the license fee as the basic tax, and the Council was enlarged by twelve, all to represent the gold fields. This action pacified the miners. In the next several years, Victoria became the leader in establishing a broad-based, liberal democracy in Australia. Undoubtedly, this was spurred by the miners' insistence that equality, equity, and democracy prevail.

Had the California *alcalde* system extended to the gold fields, there is little doubt that miners there would have resisted its abuses in a manner similar to that of their colleagues in Victoria. As it was, their ability to govern themselves in the absence of political institutions lent legitimacy to the proposition that the residents of the future state had both the authority and the capacity to create their own government. Hence, it is apparent that frontier conditions in both California and Victoria did indeed contribute to the development of broad-based, representative government. □

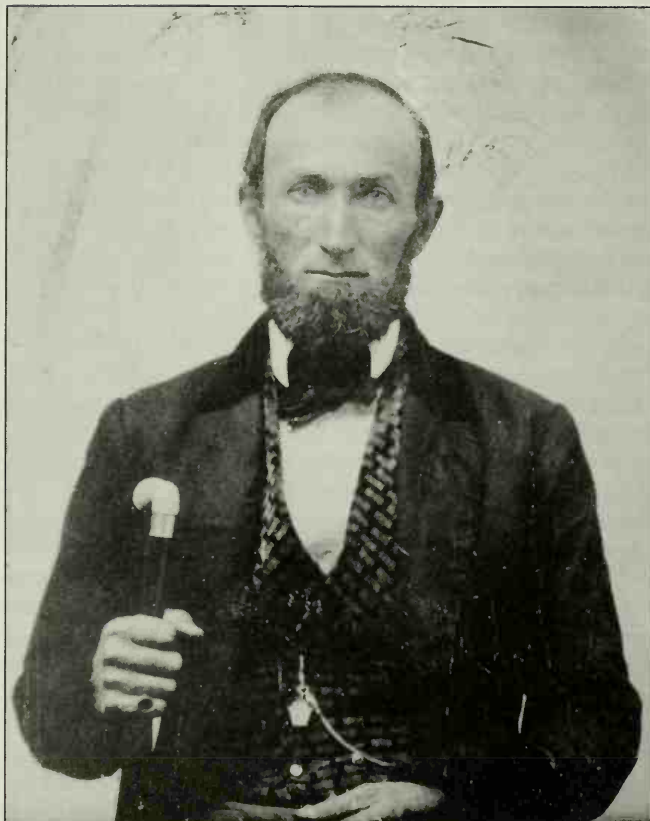
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I wish to thank the Research and Creative Endeavors Committee of Central Michigan University for a grant that helped support a semester's research leave at the University of Melbourne.

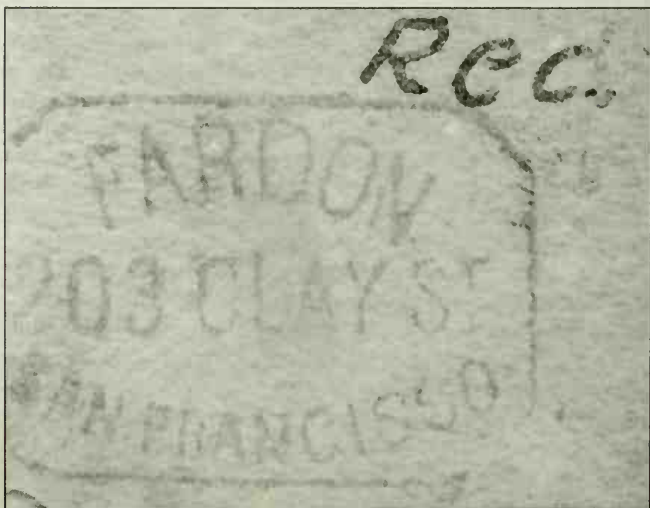
TREASURE ON LEATHER

A Portrait from
George Robinson Farden's
San Francisco Period

by Marvin R. Nathan



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nineteenth century English photographer George Robinson Fardon (1807–86) spent the final four decades of his life working in the United States and Canada. After a short time in New York in the 1840s, Fardon began his career in photography during the ten years he spent from 1849 to 1859 in the exciting Gold Rush boom town of San Francisco. He then moved to the quieter surroundings of Victoria on Vancouver Island, the provincial capital of British Columbia, where he lived and worked until his death in 1886. There is an intriguing change of emphasis in Fardon's photographic interests from the San Francisco period to the years in Victoria, a change which undoubtedly reflects the economic opportunities available to him in the two locales. The surviving Canadian photos show a vast preponderance of portraits depicting socially and politically important members of Victoria's provincial government community. There is only secondary interest on Fardon's part in Victoria and its environs or in the streets and buildings of the small city.¹ Yet the more than sixty known Fardon photographs from the earlier San Francisco period depict nothing but cityscapes and urban architecture, including sweeping panoramic views of all sectors of the city, waterfront scenes, street perspectives and important individual buildings both

public and private. Indeed, Fardon's survey of San Francisco, done for the most part between 1852 and 1858, fully justifies his claim to being the first photographer in the United States, perhaps in the world, to make a complete and systematic record of a major city. So here we have an artist who was soon to be one of Canada's leading portraitists producing nothing but city views with only incidental inclusion of human beings, or so the extant record has led us to believe.

And yet we have it on reliable early authority that Fardon had done some works of portraiture. In 1857 a correspondent for *Photographic and Fine Art Journal*, a New York publication, visited Fardon's studio upstairs at 203 Clay Street and wrote an article praising his views "of the various localities of interest in San Francisco" but dismissing the "few Daguerreotypes [which] adorn his walls" as "not good."² Until recently we were forced to guess about the character of these early portraits and what might have caused this early critic to find them so negligible. But in the past year five Fardon portraits, all done on leather (panotypes) and all of small size, have appeared to give us a much clearer view of a heretofore unknown dimension of the photographer's San Francisco work. Three of these portraits are in the James deFremery collection, part of the extensive holdings of Fardon works that deFremery, a Gold Rush commission merchant and Dutch Consul in San Francisco, amassed in the 1850s. While most of the deFremery photographs are previously-taken city views, the three portraits on leather, two of which depict deFremery himself and his wife Virginie, the third his wife

and daughter Adele, were clearly commissioned by the businessman as a special photographic sitting in his friend Fardon's studio at 203 Clay Street across from the Plaza.³ In addition, a fourth "new" Fardon portrait, also stamped with the 203 Clay Street address, has been identified at the Smithsonian Institute. The subject of this photograph on leather is Ida Doyle, possibly a younger member of the family of John T. Doyle, one of early San Francisco's most prominent lawyers.

And now, in recent months, a fifth Fardon portrait has been discovered in the Photographic Archives of the California Historical Society. The subject of this photograph is John Henry Lick, son of James Lick, perhaps the wealthiest man in San Francisco during the 1850s and 1860s.⁴ Although a curator's note done in ball point pen in 1973 on the back of the portrait incorrectly identifies the individual as "Jno" (Jonathan) Lick and dates it CA. 1870, Fardon's own rectangular stamp in the lower left hand corner permits us to date the portrait within two years. The stamp gives the photographer's address as 203 Clay Street, a location which Fardon did not occupy until some time during 1856.⁵ Since John Lick did not arrive in San Francisco from Pennsylvania until the fall of 1855 and left the Bay Area in 1858 (Fardon left San Francisco in 1859), the photograph must have been taken between 1856 and 1858. Certainly the man we see in the portrait fits the description of an individual who, like John Lick, was between his thirty-eighth and fortieth birthdays.⁶

To say that John Lick's meeting with his father in San Francisco late in 1855 was unusual would be to indulge in understatement. Though

The California Historical Society's leather panotype of John Henry Lick, enlarged.

Reverse of the John Lick panotype, showing Fardon's stamp.

the younger Lick was thirty-seven years old, he and his father had never before met. This strange circumstance arose from the fact that John had been conceived out of wedlock in Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania, when the then twenty-two-year-old James formed a liaison with a local girl. Though willing to marry her, James was rebuffed by the pregnant girl's father and left town to seek his fortune without waiting for the birth of his son on June 3, 1818. The rest of James Lick's life is well known.⁷ After leaving his small Pennsylvania German home town he eventually drifted to South America where he spent twenty years as a piano maker in Argentina, Chile, and Peru and amassed a substantial fortune. Then in 1847 he took up residence in San Francisco with a bankroll of some thirty thousand dollars which he invested heavily in local real estate. When gold was discovered on the American River the next year, Lick's large land holdings and continued real estate investments quickly made him one of the city's first millionaires and one of its leading citizens.

Despite his great business acumen

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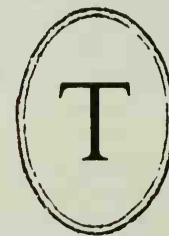


Fardon's collodion-on-leather portrait of Ida Doyle. The original has a dark border approximately one-half inch wide at the top and bottom and one-fourth inch wide along its sides. It is reproduced here in its original size.

and despite the fact that he later had John legally legitimized,⁸ the father's relationship with his son was difficult from the beginning and remained so until James' death in 1876. Lick saw his son as weak and lazy, uninterested in business, culture or religion. John perceived his father as irascible and tight-fisted, and probably harbored ill feelings toward a parent who had abandoned him for the first thirty-six years of his life. James tried to interest John in his flour mill in Alviso near San Jose, but had little success. He built a fine house near the mill for his son, his nephew Jimmie, and himself, but the three seldom stayed there together. He tried to transfer his enthusiasm about science and theology to John, but without success. In 1858 James sent his son on a trip to Europe, but John came back to San Jose for only three years after the European journey and then left California for Pennsylvania, returning to the West only in 1875 to visit his dying father. Even after James' death, his son threatened to bring

suit against his estate, accusing his father of ignoring poorer relatives in his will.

Placing Fardon's portrait of John Lick within the problematical context of the Lick family situation is not difficult. The photograph was taken shortly after John's first arrival in San Francisco and is undoubtedly an early, hopeful attempt by James or John, or both to create some sort of meaningful family feeling and physical artifact after nearly four decades of estrangement. The portrait was done on leather and was clearly meant to be placed in a family album or a glass front decorative frame. The optimism engendered by the long-awaited family reunion is movingly symbolized by Fardon's photograph, and this keepsake strikes a melancholy note in light of the deepening alienation that James and John would experience during the next two decades.



he newly discovered portrait of John Lick, except for its use of a light colored leather positive and its smallish dimensions,⁹ is in every sense a conventional work of the period. We are confronted by the image of a man in a sitting position visible from the waist up. The background is the flat gray of a cloth backdrop or Fardon's studio wall and has no decorations of any sort.¹⁰ The pose is formal, with Lick in a frontal posture, his head tilted slightly to the left.¹¹ His dark eyes peer out sharply, his balding pate is neatly outlined by a tonsure of remaining hair, his generous sideburns blend smoothly into his thick, but well-trimmed chin whiskers.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.



(Top) View of San Francisco from Stockton Street, containing the portions between Washington and Sacramento streets. From Fardon's San Francisco Album, ca. 1856. This view is one of the center panels of Fardon's 1856 seven-panel panorama of the city. Even working with fairly primitive photographic equipment, the resolution in this panorama is of such a quality that several of San Francisco's most important buildings are clearly visible.

Montgomery Block, on Montgomery Street at Washington, from the San Francisco Album. Fardon frequently photographed buildings from a forty-five-degree angle, which used shadow to bring out architectural detail and gave a sense of three dimensions. He sought out city scenes which showed such contrasts and signs of transition as the juxtaposition here of the massive Montgomery Block and the woodframe storefronts beside it.

Like his father, John has fairly high cheekbones, somewhat offset by small bags under his riveted eyes. Lick's costume is typical of formal evening attire in the period. He wears a black frock coat, probably of silk with satin collar, a patterned waistcoat, also probably silk, a boiled white shirt with a stock collar, a broad black tie and gray trousers, only the tops of which are visible. To enhance the appearance of splendor Lick sports a gold watch chain, a signet ring of gold with a precious or semi-precious stone on the little finger of his right hand, and, in the same hand, a walking stick of rich malacca wood with a gold and ivory head. The ensemble is completed by a pendant (fob) hanging from his watch chain. In the shape of a key-stone, the pendant appears to be inscribed with the Masonic Eastern Star. Since the Licks were from Protestant German Pennsylvania stock and since James was a member of the Masonic order,¹² it seems a reasonable assumption that his son was also a Freemason.

This rediscovered portrait provides us with a useful visual document for the important Lick family and with evidence about formal attire in the San Francisco of the 1850s. But this single, highly conventional photograph also helps us answer larger questions about the development of Fardon's career as an artist and craftsman, about his place among the large battery of "daguerreans" in the Gold Rush city, and about the socio-economic values that his work reflects.

The first thing that this small panotype reveals to us is the level of skill that Fardon had achieved as a craftsman by the later 1850s. Although the reporter who visited his

studio in 1857 described his portrait work as "not good," the Lick photograph has a precision of tone and detail that is remarkable. Fardon has often been praised for the beautifully etched quality of his city views such as Kearny Street, Montgomery Street, or the impressive Montgomery Block building. Yet these images have nothing on the Lick portrait. The latter is a small jewel of execution where the work is so fine that the pupils of the subject's eyes, the setting of the ring on his little finger, and the design of a small metal pendant are all clearly visible after over one hundred and twenty-five years. We now know that Fardon had developed the same precise techniques for executing portraits as for larger city views. Thus by 1859, when he left for Canada to become the leading portrait photographer in Victoria, his skills were already well honed.

A second conclusion about Fardon's career in San Francisco can be drawn from the subject of his portrait. While James deFremery, for whom Fardon did a good deal of work, was an important person in the business and political life of the city, he was not one of its great movers and shakers. James Lick was. Not only were his land holdings and wealth immense, he was San Francisco's greatest philanthropist and built its first luxury hotel, the Lick House, in 1862. That Fardon should be selected to photograph the scion of such a family indicates that his reputation among the gentry for quality work must have been high. His portrait of the younger Lick puts Fardon squarely in the tradition of other local photographers such as Houseworth, Shew, Rulofson, Muybridge, Taber, and Genthe who



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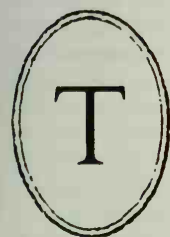
were patronized by the great families of San Francisco in the second half of the nineteenth century. We can imagine that after his experience in San Francisco Fardon felt quite at ease making photographic portraits of provincial governors and daughters of the local elite on Vancouver Island.

Yet another revealing aspect of this small picture is Fardon's choice of leather, which he had also used for the three deFremery portraits and the Doyle portrait.¹³ The significance of this choice of materials becomes apparent when it is understood how competitive the field of photography was in San Francisco during the decades after the discovery of gold. In the 1850s there were several daguerreans in the city, some of whom, like Fardon and Carlton E. Watkins, were just beginning to establish their reputations, while others, such as James M. Ford, Robert H. Vance, William Shew and Henry W. Bradley, were already well-known and had significant clienteles. In such a situation Fardon knew that it was necessary to carve

St. Mary's Church. Fardon used a slightly different camera angle from what he had used on the Montgomery Block to highlight the architectural details of this imposing building.

out a place for himself in a competitive territory by doing things which were new and different. This probably explains why he claimed to be the first photographer in San Francisco to introduce the paper positive, a fact which he advertises with signs on his studio¹⁴ and in the city directories for 1856 and 1858. His use of the unusual medium of leather in all five of the extant portraits seems to be an effort of the same sort. By being the first, or among the first,¹⁵ cameraman in San Francisco to use both paper and leather in his work, Fardon gained valuable publicity by drawing attention to himself as an innovative practitioner of his art. Needless to say, any edge in so competitive a profession would be important. It must, however, be added that despite his innovations, his skill in self-advertisement and the attention he drew from some of the local

elite, Fardon decided to depart the city for Canada in 1859, leaving its lucrative possibilities to Ford, Shew, Bradley, Watkins, and the others. Though there is some evidence that part of his reason for moving to Victoria was to join other members of his family who resided there, had he been making significant profits in San Francisco, it is unlikely that he would have deserted the city.



here remains one more significant insight which the Lick portrait provides. In the past decade scholars such as Rodger W. Lotchin, Gunther Barth, and Peter R. Decker¹⁶ have made clear the degree to which a *bourgeois* merchant oligarchy, many of whom were Protestants and Masons, controlled the economic and political life of San Francisco in the years after the Gold Rush. It was in the interest of such a merchant aristocracy to preserve law and order in a rambunctious boom town, and their role as leaders of the Vigilance movement in San Francisco is well documented.¹⁷ It was also in their interest that the city gain a reputation for social stability, civilized order, and economic opportunity so that new investment would be lured from elsewhere in the United States and from Europe. One of the most effective ways to advertise the city's commercial virtues in the 1850s and 1860s was by photography, and no photographer of the period is more significant in this respect than George Robinson Fardon. His *San Francisco Album. Photographs of the Most Beautiful Views and Public Buildings of San Francisco*, published in

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1856 by Herre and Bauer, constitutes an encomium to the solid, substantial nature of the young city.¹⁸ The *Album* contains thirty-four views, including sweeping panoramas, several street scenes showing the density and impressive quality of San Francisco's building boom, upper class living areas such as South Park and Rincon Hill, and several individual public and commercial edifices displaying the wealth, taste, and permanence of the young community to potential immigrants and investors. In short, Fardon's *Album* seems an intentional piece of propaganda on his and his publishers' part to extol the very values that the merchant elite most strongly favored. Photography was an art, but it was also a medium of great commercial importance, and this fact was not lost on Fardon in his attempt to build a clientele. Seen in this light, his commissions from and associa-

James Lick

tion with James deFremery, an important local merchant and a Protestant, and his portrait of John Henry Lick, member of a financially powerful, Protestant, Masonic family, give us further insight into the relationship between the Gold Rush photographer and the community in which he plied his trade. Photography was the best possible communicator of the successes achieved in the booming new commercial emporium of the city by the Golden Gate. The merchant elite whose money and imagination fueled the local expansion were the best possible patrons for a struggling photographer trying to establish his reputation as an artist and, not incidentally, to make his fortune. □

(See notes beginning on p. 70)

Edited by James J. Rawls

Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-90.

By Anne M. Butler. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985, 179 pp., \$16.95.)

Reviewed by Gloria Ricci Lothrop,
Professor of History, California State
Polytechnic University, Pomona.

This important volume probes the reality behind such maudlin euphemisms as "the soiled doves of the prairie." It presents, instead, a realistic portrait of the ubiquitous frontier prostitute who was inveighed against by moralists, scrutinized by the pruriently curious and too often dismissed with a sly snicker by historians of the American West.

In this elegant, well-illustrated volume Anne Butler examines the socioeconomic context in which frontier women entered into and sustained themselves in lives of prostitution. Using recent social science research as well as the contents of twenty depositories in twelve states, the author has conjured a composite profile drawn from "census lists, police dockets, jail registers, military correspondence, trial testimony, inquests . . . and cemetery records." As a result of this well-documented inquiry into the quality of life of prostitutes along the shifting boundaries of the post-Civil War West, "the stereotype of the glamorous dance hall girl" is conclusively shattered. What emerges instead is the sordid reality which circumscribed the lives of approximately 50,000 prostitutes who traversed the frontier in the latter half of the 19th century.

To offset marginal poverty exacerbated by exploitive pimps, high rents, exorbitant levies for police protection and the costs of disease and addiction, the women aggressively plied their trade, sometimes in "cat wagons," which trundled from mining camp to cattle junction—from bustling town to

military encampment. Invariably, they encountered violence, theft, abuse, even homicide, as well as a public hypocrisy which at once exploited and taunted their sullied existence. Butler observes that despite the not infrequent presence of husbands and children, the corrosive degradation of this social ritual wreaked havoc upon these women's already tormented lives.

Particular strengths of this excellent study are the tightly reasoned generalizations derived from the data. For example, Butler suggests that there was no typical candidate for prostitution, although family tradition and economic need frequently appear to have been predisposing factors. Exhaustive examination of records has also suggested that friendship among prostitutes was tenuous, at best being a suspicious amity forced by the social censure which defined the narrow framework of their lives. In another instance the author contends that prostitution not only blended into a "bawdy and rollicking frontier," but actually provided a measure of continuity in the rapidly changing social environment of the West.

Most importantly, Butler's research also suggests that the presence of prostitutes lent a certain legitimacy to minor legal functionaries who at once recognized that prostitution would attract migrant labor and the fines levied upon such institutionalized vice could help support local social institutions. As a result of this hypocrisy, courts sometimes released prostitutes to ply their trade in order to pay their fines. Ironically, in an effort to bring order to their often turbulent lives, prostitutes repaired to these same courts, seeking equitable resolution of their own grievances.

To some extent the appearance of duplicity by the judiciary might have been mitigated if Butler had provided some explanation of the distinctions between solicitation and prostitution under American and English common law. Equally useful would have been an examination of frontier prostitution within

a national context so dramatically highlighted by Dr. William Sanger's 1958 New York City survey. Finally, yet to be examined is the impact on frontier prostitution of the American Purity Crusade which achieved its zenith of power during the three decades in question.

Despite the topics which remain to be addressed, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery* stands as a significant study because of the questions asked and the causal relations explored. As a result it has placed women's history in the broader social context—in communities where unfortunately sacrosanct institutions all too often acted as panderers to this ignoble profession. □

The Art of California: Selected Works from the Collection of the Oakland Museum.

Edited by Christina Orr-Cahall. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1984, 199 pp., \$16.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Raymond L. Wilson, Mr. Wilson teaches in the Humanities Department at San Francisco State University and is a regular contributor of articles and essays on Western American art. He is currently preparing a book on images of the church at Ranchos de Taos for the Museum of New Mexico Press.

Since the days of the Comstock Lode excitement, California has constituted a major regional center of American art. Besides supplying a hospitable and inspiring climate for generations of immigrant and native-born artists, the state has proved a lure for such distinguished visitors as Albert Bierstadt and George Inness, two of the best-known American landscape painters of the nineteenth century, the photographer Eadweard Muybridge, and later the pioneer abstractionists Hans Hofmann and Mark

Rothko. Much of California's growing art legacy perished in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, yet much of the best of that which survived, as well as much of that produced subsequently is held in the state's public museum collections.

Outstanding examples of work by resident artists and visitors are possessed, for instance, by the San Diego Museum of Art, the Laguna Beach Museum of Art, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, the Oakland Museum Art Department, and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Yet for these institutions and for other important public and quasi-public collections of California art there were no guides or catalogues raisonnés available until very recently. Joseph A. Baird, Jr.'s *Catalogue of the Robert B. Honeyman Collection* (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1968) stood in virtual isolation until the appearance of the Crocker Art Museum's *Handbook of Paintings* (Sacramento: Crocker Art Museum, 1979). In the past year, however, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art has issued a catalogue raisonné of *The Painting and Sculpture Collection* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1985), and the Oakland Museum Art Department, which holds perhaps the most extensive collection of California arts, has added to the list with a survey guide titled *The Art of California*.

An overview of some of the highlights of the various collections of the Art Department, *The Art of California* includes capsule essays on nineteenth and twentieth century painting and sculpture; prints, photographs, and drawings; California crafts; and collecting contemporary California art. The essays are followed by reproductions of examples from the collections, accompanied by artists' biographies.

Intended for a general audience, the essays cover familiar ground for those with a specialized interest in American and California art. The essay by Orr-Cahall on collecting contemporary

California art is superficial, more in the character of a daily newspaper Sunday supplement column, and of little help to puzzled or potential buyers. A better treatment of this topic is by Henry Hopkins in *50 West Coast Artists* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981). As with any book of this type there are mistakes, for instance, putting Ernest Narjot, the nineteenth century genre painter, at the Académie Julian in Paris in 1849 when Julian gave his first classes in 1868 (p. 50). At any rate, mistakes and superficialities aside, this is a useful introduction which makes one of California's more important public collections more accessible. □

Junípero Serra, The Illustrated Story of the Franciscan Founder of California's Missions.

By Don DeNevi and Noel Francis Moholy. (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1985, xvi, 224 pp., \$14.95 cloth.)

A Bicentennial Compendium of Maynard J. Geiger's The Life and Times of Fr. Junípero Serra.

By Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: [Dawson's Book Shop], 1985, x, 104 pp., \$16.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, Professor of History, University of San Francisco, member of the Academia Mexicana de la Historia and Orden del Aguila Azteca, author of various books and articles on the history of the Spanish Californias.

The bicentennial of the death of Fray Junípero Serra, explorer and founder of

the first outposts of Western civilization in what is today the State of California, celebrated between August 28, 1984 and August 28, 1985, has stimulated new interest in the life and works of this great pioneer. Scholarly and popular articles and books, conferences and lecture series, juvenile literature, commemorative posters, medals, coins and stamps, have all given rise to further research and re-evaluation of the Serra period of California history, 1767-1784, despite its already extensive bibliography. Among the more comprehensive biographies prepared for the general public during the bicentennial are the two titles reviewed herein, the first coauthored by Donald DeNevi, well known for his books on San Francisco, and Father Noël Moholy, O.F.M., Vice-Postulator of the Serra Cause and historian of Franciscan California; the second compiled and written by the Archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, and specialist on California Catholic history, Monsignor Francis J. Weber.

In 1959, Father Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., dean of California mission historians, published his two-volume definitive study *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History). The result of eighteen years of research, Father Geiger's work was based upon exhaustive use of manuscripts in Spanish, Italian, Mexican and United States archives, and contained numerous annotations and an extensive bibliography. Realizing that such a study was not for everyone, Geiger had hoped for a condensation of it for the general reading public; these new titles accomplish that.

Basing their book primarily upon Geiger's biography, his annotated translation of the Palóu's *Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (1955; originally published in Mexico in 1787), and the *Summarium, Patris Juniperi Serra* (1981) compiled by Jacinto Fernández, O.F.M. in support of the Serra Cause for canonization, Dr. DeNevi and Father Moholy have written

a highly readable, well-illustrated biography. From a viewpoint of historical accuracy, the book begins with chapter three which opens with Serra's birth in Petra (Mallorca) in 1713 and treats of his childhood, studies, novitiate, and profession in the Franciscan Order at Palma in 1731. The two successive chapters relate to his years as a scholar: his study of philosophy and theology in Palma, ordination in 1737, teaching of his later comissionaries, Frailes Francisco Palóu and Juan Crespí, doctorate in theology and chair in that field at the Universidad Lulliana in Palma; and of his desire to serve in the missions of New Spain, realized with his departure from Cádiz for the New World in 1749.

The second section of the work covers Serra's activities in New Spain in six chapters. Walking from Veracruz to Mexico City, where he was to form part of the religious community of the College of San Fernando, Serra was bitten by an insect and subsequently suffered a severe infection of the leg and foot which would cause him great pain during the rest of his life. Nevertheless, he continued his mission work, serving tirelessly in the Sierra Gorda of Querétaro from 1750 to 1757, preaching in western and southern New Spain, and in 1768, leading the Franciscans destined for Baja California to replace the expelled Jesuits. Occupying the peninsular missions, Serra continued his labors as their president, as well as planning the occupation of Alta California with Visitor General José de Gálvez. In 1769, following Captain Fernando de Rivera y Montcada and Crespí, Serra and Governor Gaspar de Portolá, traversed the peninsula, founded Mission San Fernando Velicatá, and reached San Diego Bay in July of that year.

Section three, dealing with Serra's life and work in Alta California from 1769 to his death in 1784 in sixteen chapters, forms the core of the biography. While that time period represents the permanent establishment of Western culture in the area, and thus would require a

very lengthy text to cover all of its historical facets, the authors have generally restricted their work to treat of those events in which Serra directly participated. The founding of San Diego, San Carlos Borromeo, San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, San Juan Capistrano, and San Buenaventura is more detailed than that of the other missions for which Serra was also ultimately responsible: San Gabriel, San Francisco, and Santa Clara. The highly complex conflicts between Serra and the civil authority, Portolá, Fagés, Rivera and Neve, and problems of communication and supply are well covered from the missionary point of view, as would be expected in a biography openly favorable to its subject. An epilog provides a summation of the truly tireless, heroic and saintly labors of Alta California's greatest pioneer. Thirty-five well selected illustrations, three maps, a selected basic bibliography and an analytical index enhance the text.

If the reader overlooks the numerous inaccuracies of the opening two chapters, such as "Juan Pizarro," "Salvaterras," "Cabrillo, a Portuguese, charting California," and "600 Jesuit 'brothers' in Baja California," as well as the incorrect use of the adjective "Baja" for Baja California, this book is a fine survey of the life of a very great man and is a useful addition to any collection of early California.

Monsignor Weber, tireless secretary of the Serra Bicentennial Commission, and, as Father Moholy, a highly dedicated supporter of the Serra Cause, has also prepared a condensation of Geiger's classic. This book, similar in format to Weber's on-going series of monographs on each California mission and his 1984 *Some "Fugitive" Glimpses at Fray Junipero Serra*, contains fifty-two vignettes of Serra's life, works, and posthumous impact originally written for the California Catholic press. The collection may also be divided into three sections, the first section of sixteen pages covering Serra's birth, childhood and early teaching in Mallorca, and his mission in the Sierra

Gorda of Querétaro in New Spain. The second section of sixty-seven pages deals with Serra in the Californias from 1768 to his death in 1784, including information on the missions which he founded and his conflicts with the civil government. The final nineteen pages may be considered "Serrana," in that they contain reflections and reports upon his life and sanctity, his importance as a figure in California history, and information relative to the Serra Cause for canonization, updated since 1959.

Monsignor Weber's book clearly serves the purpose for which it was intended: an easily read, basic biography of Serra. The inclusion of a bibliography, especially an updating of books and articles which have appeared since 1959, would have enhanced the work substantially; possibly, and hopefully, the author intends an exhaustive Serra bibliography for the future. The volume is nicely printed and bound, and is a useful addition to any collection of Serrana, or as a ready source of information for those interested in his life. □

The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War.

By Gerald D. Nash. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. xiv, 304 pp., \$35.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, Instructor of History, Diablo Valley College.

During the Second World War, the American West emerged from its traditional status as a colonial society to become a pace-setting region for the nation. The infusion of federal capital into the wartime West led to an enormous industrial expansion and a population boom. The war also increased the West's ethnic diversity and boosted its role as a center for scientific research. Before the

war, many westerners were pessimistic about the prospects for their region; after the war, they looked to the future with hope and great expectation.

Such are the views of Gerald D. Nash, one of the premier interpreters of the twentieth-century West. Professor Nash first expressed these views more than a decade ago in *The American West in the Twentieth Century* (1973). Readers familiar with this earlier work may well ask, what new interpretations or insights does Nash offer in his latest book?

In *The American West Transformed*, Gerald Nash revises upward his estimation of the importance of the Second World War in western history. In his earlier work, Nash argues that the war accelerated changes that had been developing slowly for half a century but acknowledges that the war itself "occasioned few new changes." The judgment of the present work is far more sweeping: "No other single influence on the region—not the Mexican War, not the Civil War, not World War I, nor even the Great Depression—brought such great and cataclysmic changes to the West."

Nash also offers a revised judgment on the impact of the war on ethnic minorities. He describes in considerable detail the blatant discrimination which confronted minorities in the West, but he emphasizes the ways in which the war broke down racial barriers. Wartime confrontations between blacks and whites, Nash argues, were the foundation of the postwar civil rights movement. The wartime experiences of Mexican Americans speeded their social and cultural integration into American society. The war hastened Indian acculturation and, in some instances, strengthened Indian traditionalism. Even relocation had an "unexpectedly positive impact" on the Japanese-American community: "It accelerated its integration into American society."

As in Nash's earlier work, most of the discussion on scientific research in the West centers on nuclear physics and the

development of atomic weapons. Nash adds, however, an extended discussion of psychoanalysis and makes passing mention of developments in astronomy, genetics, and other fields. In no sense does Nash give a full accounting of western science during the war years.

One of the most valuable chapters of the new work describes the cultural life of the wartime West. Nash tells the familiar story of Hollywood's role in producing propaganda films during the war, but he quickly moves on to an analysis of the 10,000 political and religious refugees who came to Southern California before and during the war. The émigrés included such luminaries as Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht, and Arnold Schoenberg. Nash ranks their coming as "perhaps the most significant cultural migration to the West since the region was first settled." The importance of the émigrés has often been overlooked by California historians. Nash does well to stress their role in the state's cultural history.

Nash's accounting of economic history is less satisfactory. He argues that the war was a time of liberation for the western economy, and yet the bulk of his evidence demonstrates that during the war the West was becoming ever more dependent on federal capital. Nash himself puts the matter quite succinctly in his earlier work: World War II "facilitated a change of master for the West, from Wall Street to Pennsylvania Avenue."

As to matters of style, Nash's prose is direct and unadorned. He has a penchant for redundancy which some readers may find annoying. Nearly identical phrases or whole sentences are repeated on subsequent pages. We are introduced, for instance, to the "distinguished scientist" Vannevar Bush three times in the space of seven pages.

The American West Transformed is an important book, one deserving careful reading and frequent reference. Its greatest contribution may lie in its encouragement of other western historians

to examine more critically the twentieth-century history of this vital region. □

The Diary Letters of Hiram Johnson.

Edited by Robert E. Burke. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983, 7 Vols, each volume, \$124.00.)

Reviewed by Spencer C. Olin, Jr., Professor of History at the University of California, Irvine and author of California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917 and California Politics, 1846-1920: The Emerging Corporate State.

Robert Burke of the University of Washington has performed an enormously important service to the nation and to the history profession. In carefully editing the diary letters written with impressive regularity and thoroughness by California's leading politician, Hiram Johnson, during his distinguished though controversial three-decade senatorial career, Burke has created the basis for a more complete understanding of this complex public figure and of major developments in modern American history.

As one who has previously labored extensively in the large Johnson archive housed in the Bancroft Library (focusing on his gubernatorial career), I have special appreciation for Burke's accomplishment. Not only has he provided a most informative, seventy-eight page, footnoted summary of Johnson's entire public career. He has also culled the most revealing and historically significant of the letters and telegrams written by Johnson to one or both of his sons, Hiram, Jr. (Jack) and Archibald. Also included are a number of interesting letters written during 1917 and 1918 to his daughter-in-law, Amy Bowles Johnson, who died of tuberculosis in September,

1918. Together, these documents provide a detailed, 5,000-page, invaluable insider's account of California, national, and world affairs from the beginning of World War I to the end of World War II.

Apart from the general overview of twentieth-century United States history that emerges from this correspondence, particularly noteworthy is the coverage of the following topics: the role of Congress during World War I; a harsh critique of Wilsonian foreign policy, including the Russian intervention and the League of Nations; Johnson's contribution to the building of the Boulder Dam; Republican party activities; the impact of the Great Depression; his initial support for and subsequent disillusionment with Franklin Roosevelt; and interpersonal relations with fellow "progressives" such as Raymond Robbins, Harold Ickes, Gifford Pinchot, and George Norris.

Space permits more detailed mention of just one formative development of Johnson's senatorship: namely, his determined fight against the League of Nations, an issue over which he broke with many long-time political friends in California, including Chester Rowell, Meyer Lissner, and John Randolph Haynes. Taking a seat on the Foreign Relations Committee, Johnson was to become ever more adamant that Wilson's efforts were seriously misguided. With Article 10 (the mutual guarantees) serving as his primary target during a fiery speech to the Senate on June 2, 1919, Johnson quickly established himself as a leading "Irreconcilable" and forecast his basic isolationist stance for the remainder of his years in Washington:

It is unthinkable that any American wrote Article 10. It is unthinkable that any American can subscribe to Article 10 . . . The section freezes the world into immutability. It arrogates to those of us who are here today a knowledge superior to those of us who shall come hereafter. It makes the present generation decide the fate of all future generations . . . But beyond and above all this, the main-

tenance of the static condition can be accomplished by the blood of just one nation, and that is ours. Are ye ready, Americans, to pledge your sons and your sons' sons to maintain and preserve for all times the present governments of the little nations we are setting up in Europe and the present governments and boundaries of the British and the Japanese Empires?

In order to guide readers through this voluminous material, Professor Burke has supplied most helpful introductions to the activities of each of Senator Johnson's fifteen Congresses (65th through 79th), along with a complete index. It is to be hoped that the availability of these letters—the most extensive personal record left by any major figure in our modern political history—and Burke's supporting apparatus will stimulate further research into Johnson's life and times. It is highly unfortunate, after all, that unlike the three other major progressive senators—William Borah of Idaho, Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, and George Norris of Nebraska—Hiram Johnson of California does not yet have a full-scale biography. The completion of that task is now more likely because of Robert Burke's essential preliminary efforts. □

Gold Seeker: Adventures of a Belgian Argonaut during the Gold Rush.

By Jean-Nicolas Perlot. Translated by Helen Harding Bretnor. Edited and with an introduction by Howard R. Lamar. (Yale Western Americana Series, 31. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, 451 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Abraham P. Nasatir, Professor of History, Emeritus at San Diego State University and author of numerous works on the French in California during the Gold Rush.

Memoirs of Belgian gold seekers in the California gold rush are scarce. It is a matter of good fortune, therefore, that the Bancroft Library acquired a well written and detailed personal reminiscence by a Belgian gold seeker, that Helen H. Bretnor recognized its uniqueness and translated it, and that Howard Lamar, the well known Yale historian of the West, edited it in a magnificent way. The Yale University Press went to great lengths in publishing this very pleasing book.

Born in Belgium, Jean-Nicolas Perlot went to France where he heard of the gold discoveries in California. There also he joined a group of gold seekers, *La Fortune Mining Company*, and sailed on the *Courrier de Cherbourg*. The company was one of the many fly-by-night groups which went bankrupt before the members reached Monterey. Left to their own devices, Perlot and his group made their arduous way to the southern mining area. There they underwent all the hardships of foreigners in the gold area. Being strong, self-reliant, and imbued with an ardent desire to be successful, Perlot overcame most of the difficulties and obstacles facing foreign miners to become one of the relatively few French-speaking miners who made good. He made friends with the Indians and opened up a trail from Coulterville to Yosemite.

Leaving California, Perlot went north toward the Fraser River gold discoveries in 1858. Winter overcame him, however, before he could reach British Columbia. Perlot settled instead in Portland, working as a gardener and landscaper and becoming well known for his success in these enterprises. In 1867 Perlot visited his European home, married, and returned to Portland with fifteen of his countrymen. In 1872, he decided to go back to Belgium with his family, crossing the United States on the recently constructed Union Pacific Railroad. He remained there until his death at the age of seventy-seven.

Perlot wrote his memoirs for his

friends and family, not for the public, as did Hypolyte Ferry and Derbec, nor for government superiors, as did consuls Moerenhout, Lombard, and Dillon. Although a Belgian, Perlot is one of the most articulate Francophone participants in the Gold Rush. His book is the memoir of a gifted story teller, illustrating among other themes the reaction of the French to the Gold Rush, the pioneer experience of immigrants on the West Coast, foreign perspectives of life in nineteenth century California, and the customs of the Yosemite Indians.

Gold Seeker includes an introductory note on Helen H. Bretnor by the director of the Bancroft Library, James D. Hart. The author's own preface counsels the reader, "If [this book] bores you, benevolent reader, close it." There follows the translator's preface and the editor's erudite introduction. Editor Lamar has omitted early chapters on Perlot's family life and, after twenty-three illustrations, begins the book with an account of Perlot's voyage by sea to California. The real Perlot book begins with his arrival in Monterey in March (not April) 1851. Howard Lamar has done a very helpful task in dividing the volume into sections and chapters. He provides each section with an introduction which summarizes Perlot's career and connects each of the chapters. The book includes a useful index.

Perlot's *Life and Adventures* is not only an original story, it is a unique account of a Belgian argonaut. It has exceptional value in that it covers a long period and records the experiences of scores of other French and Belgian nationals who participated in the California and later gold rushes. A copy of *Gold Seeker* would enhance every personal and public library. □

Passing Farms, Enduring Values: California's Santa Clara Valley.

By Yvonne Jacobson. Foreword by Wallace Stegner. (Los Altos, Calif.: William Kaufmann Inc., 1984, xvi, 240 pp., \$39.50.)

Reviewed by James H. Shideler, Director, Agricultural History Center; Editor, Agricultural History; and Professor Emeritus, University of California, Davis.

The most instructive part of this elegant book—part sentimental family history, part insightful personal recollection—is the interspersed photographs that tell it all. Yvonne Jacobson sketches the history of the Santa Clara Valley through its overlapping stages from Native American hunters and gatherers, Spanish friars and Mexican rancheros, Anglo-American bonanza wheat growers, small farm orchards and gardens, to recent urbanization and industrialization. It is local history with lessons for other rural regions in the path of the bulldozers of change. The first part of the title, "Passing Farms," is right on target; the second part, "Enduring Values," is undeveloped.

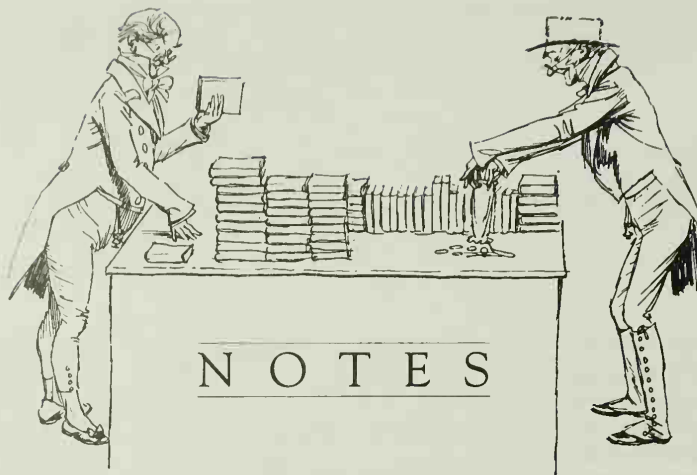
To the author and to many of her readers the most captivating part of the story is that idyllic time from the 1880s to World War II when the valley was covered by orchards, vineyards, and market gardens of 10 to 160 acres modestly sustaining several thousand farm families loosely connected to supportive neighborhoods and communities. Like America, the valley was a melting pot of nationalities and ethnic groups; its

population mix included Anglo-Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, French, Mexicans, and others. (The author is the daughter of a Swedish and Lebanese couple.)

This Garden of Eden had its serpents. Small-scale producers of specialty crops didn't make much money, dependent as they were upon distant markets, fluctuating prices, and costs of supplies, while facing hazards of weather and plant diseases. Land speculation, railroad rate gouging, credit profiteering, labor troubles, race prejudice, cannery health hazards, processor consolidation and power vis à vis dispersed small growers made up a slow-paced process of growth, development, exploitation, waste, and uglification much like those anywhere else. What happened after World War II was a vastly accelerated change that wiped out the small farm community. Precious orchard lands were covered by urban sprawl. No agricultural land preservation devices could halt it. The "Valley of Heart's Delight" became "Silicon Valley." That model of clean high-tech affluent industry turned out to be grotesque, a risky business, a polluter of groundwater, a source of smog, and a burden on local municipal budgets.

The reader can see this book as a pretty coffee table ornament or as a camouflaged cry of pain at observing the flight of a fulfilling agrarian way of life in a beautiful environment and a warning signal for what rampant development can do. □

The "California Checklist" does not appear in this issue of *California History*. A cumulative checklist covering the period November 15, 1985, to May 1, 1986, will appear in the June 1986 issue.



Lillard, *The Agricultural Statesman*, pp. 2-16.

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2. Statement to representatives of the state and federal governments "who have charge of the domestic and foreign agricultural labor program for the state of California," May 25, 1943. Reel 15.
3. Charles Collins Teague, *Fifty Years a Rancher* (Los Angeles: Privately printed, 1944), p. 29.
4. Florence Collins Porter and Clara Wilson Gries, *Our Folks and Your Folks* (Los Angeles: Fred S. Lang Co., 1919), p. 180.
5. "Those Who Have Achieved in the Citrus Industry: C. C. Teague . . .," *California Citrograph*, IV (May, 1919), 194.
6. *Memorial Services Held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, together with tributes presented in eulogy of Charles M. Teague* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974).
7. "Cooperation at a Profit," *Fortune*, XIV (July, 1936), 90.
8. Teague, *Fifty Years*, p. 183. "The St. Francis Dam Disaster," two boxes of source materials, No. L17C9 at the Huntington Library, documents Teague's administrative activities after the flood.
9. "Those Who Have Achieved," p. 194.
10. Letter, September 20, 1902. Reel 29.
11. Text of speech, August 28, 1902. Reel 29.
12. Robert W. Durrenberger, "Climate as a Factor in the Production of Lemons in California," (Ph.D. thesis, UCLA, 1955), passim.
13. Letters, July 25, 1903, Reel 30, and November 12, 1940, Reel 9. Teague, *Fifty Years*, p. 33.
14. Interview with Milton M. Teague, November 8, 1985, in Santa Paula.
15. Gladys Caroline Emerson, "Geographical Aspects in the Development of the Limoneira Ranch, Santa Paula, California," (M.A. thesis, UCLA, 1968), passim.
16. "A Ranch That is Famed Wherever Citrus is Grown," *Farm and Orchard Magazine*, *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1927.
17. Andrew Hamilton, "California's Yellow Gold," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXXIX (September 1, 1956), 39.
18. *Santa Paula Chronicle*, Souvenir Edition, July 1899, p. 17.
19. Joseph G. Knapp, *The Rise of American Cooperative Enterprise, 1620-1920* (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1969), pp. 239-43.
20. Frank T. Swett, "California Agricultural Cooperatives," typescript, University of California Regional Oral History, 1968, p. 3.
21. Arthur James McFadden, "Recollections of Arthur James McFadden," typescript, UCLA Oral History Program, 1965, pp. 62-64.
22. Ms. without a date, ca. 1915. Reel 2.
23. Letter, May 2, 1939. Reel 22.
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25. Robert Glass Cleland and Osgood Hardy, *The March of Industry* (Los Angeles: Powell Publishing, 1929), p. 109.
26. Thomas Nixon Carver, *Recollections of an Unplanned Life* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie, 1949), pp. 175-79.
27. Joseph G. Knapp, *The Advance of American Cooperative Enterprise, 1920-1945* (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1973), p. 2.
28. Quoted in Knapp, *ibid.*, p. 112.
29. Knapp, *The Rise of American Cooperative Enterprise*, p. 2.
30. Teague, *Fifty Years*, p. 167.
31. Letter, October 10, 1929. Reel 6.
32. *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1929, pp. 1-2.
33. Letters, September 28, 1929, and November 13, 1939. Reel 3.
34. Marion Clawson, *Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture: Long-Range Choices in Farming and Rural Living* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), p. 207.
35. Clarke A. Chambers, *California Farm Organization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), p. 139.
36. Charles Collins Teague, *Ten Talks on Citrus Marketing: A Series of Radio Broadcasts* (Los Angeles: Privately printed, 1939); *Fifty Years*, p. 121.
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38. Kelsey B. Gardner, "A Giant in Cooperation: Charles Collins Teague," Joseph G. Knapp and Associates, *Great American Cooperators: Biographical Sketches of 101 Major Pioneers in Cooperation* (Washington: American Institute of Cooperation, 1967), pp. 504-09.
39. Knapp, *The Rise of American Cooperative Enterprise*, p. 242.
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44. Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Labor in California* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1937), pp. 279-80.
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 55. Speech, February 21, 1941. Reel 10.
 56. Teague, *Fifty Years*, pp. 141-42.
 57. Ms., February 13, 1941. Reel 10.
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 60. Letters, May 29, 1941, Reel 10, and August 21, 1941, Reel 11.
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 62. Telegram, October 19, 1942. Reel 13.
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 64. Letter, September 4, 1902. Reel 29.
 65. Ms., "An Interview with C.C. Teague," undated (1915?), Reel 2.
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 67. Chambers, *California Farm Organization*, p. 131.
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 73. Telegram, October 6, 1930. Reel 6.
 74. Letter, August 2, 1940. Reel 9.
 75. Letter, June 9, 1941. Reel 10.
 76. Letter, May 22, 1944. Reel 15.
 77. Letter, November 16, 1944. Reel 15.
 78. Letters, October 26 and December 11, 1939. Reel 22, August 3, 1940, Reel 8, and July 14, 1941, Reel 11. Teague, *Fifty Years*, pp. 14-15.
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 2. Darlene Clark Hine, "Mabel K. Staupers and the Integration of Black Nurses into the Armed Forces," in John Hope Franklin and August Meier (eds.), *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, 1982), pp. 241-257; Richard M. Dalfiume, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968): 90-106; Richard M. Dalfiume, *Fighting on Two Fronts: Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces, 1939-1953* (Columbia, Mo., 1969); Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York, 1964), pp. 60, 65; Harvard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second War," *Journal of American History* 58 (December 1971): 661-81; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), chapter 45; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 5th Ed., (New York, 1980), p. 450.
 3. Nash, *The American West Transformed*, p. 88.
 4. James T. Patterson, *America in the Twentieth Century, A History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1976), p. 319; *Special Census of San Francisco, California, Population by Age, Color, and Sex: February 28, 1946* (Washington, D.C., 1946); *Special Census of Oakland, California, October 9, 1945* (Washington, D.C., 1946); Davis McEntire, *The Labor Force in California; A Study of Characteristics and Trends in Labor Force, Employment, and Occupations in California, 1900-1950* (Berkeley, 1952).
 5. *Sixteenth Census of the United States, the Labor Force, California* (Washington, D.C., 1943), p. 204-5; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population, vol. II, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C., 1943), pp. 551, 658.
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 11. Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro War Worker in San Francisco, A Local Self-Survey* (San Francisco, 1944), p. 3.
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 23. R.P. Wiggins to Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 30, 1943, Fair Employment Practices Committee Region Files, Regional XII, National Archives.
 24. See also the unsigned letter dated August 6, 1942 in the files for Region XII, National Archives.
 25. Nash, *The American West Transformed*, p. 88; Albert S. Broussard, "Organizing the Black Community in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1915-1930," *Arizona and the West* 23 (Winter 1981): 335-354.
 26. The author consulted the papers of each of these organizations and conducted personal interviews with surviving officers of these organizations in order to arrive at this conclusion. Interview with Edward Howden, June 10, 1982, San Francisco; Telephone interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, July 26, 1983; Interview with Seaton W. Manning, June 17, 1976, San Francisco.
 27. Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (New York, 1979), pp. 25, 33, 40-41, 84-85, 131-34; *Life Magazine*, April 6, 1953, pp. 127-33.
 28. Alfred Fisk to Howard Thurman, October 30, 1943, quoted from Howard Thurman, *First Footprints: The Dawn of the Idea of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples* (San Francisco, 1975).
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 30. Thurman, *Footprints of a Dream; the Story of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples* (New York, 1959), pp. 43-44.
 31. Reginald A. Johnson to Dr. Daniel Collins, April 7, 1947, SFUL Papers; "Biographical Information For Listing of Members of Urban League Boards," October 6, 1948, SFUL Pa-

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 32. Interview with Seaton W. Manning, June 17, 1976, San Francisco; *Who's Who in Colored America*, 7th Ed., 1950, p. 352.
 33. Cy Wilson Record, "Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate," *Crisis* (June 1949): 175-178; Harry L. Kingman to Supervisor Don Fazackerley, December 19, 1949, Harry L. Kingman Papers; "Community Planning in Industrial Relations," October 25, 1950, SFUL Papers.
 34. Bettye Collier-Thomas, *N.C.N.W., 1935-1980* (Washington, D.C., National Council of Negro Women, 1981), pp. 1-6; Telephone interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, July 26, 1982. See Darlene Clark Hine, *When the Truth is Told: A History of Black Women's Culture and Community in Indiana, 1875-1950* (Indianapolis, 1981). Jeanetta Welch Brown to Gertrude Barnes, January 6, 1943, National Council of Negro Women's Papers, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited as NCNW Papers). *Sun-Reporter*, June 9, 1951; *African American Woman's Journal* 1 (Spring 1940); Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, pp. 84-85; 131-34. The best source of information concerning the founding of the San Francisco chapter of NCNW is the NCNW Papers, located at the Black Women's Archives in Washington, D.C. Although the material regarding San Francisco is scant, the surviving records are indispensable in reconstructing the chapter's activities. For example, see Gertrude Barnes to Mary McLeod Bethune, February 9, 1944 and December 30, 1943; Jeanetta Welch Brown to Barnes, February 15, 1944, NCNW Papers; *Women United, Souvenir Year Book, Sixteenth Anniversary*, 1951; Sue Bailey Thurman was also instrumental in organizing a visit to Haiti for a delegation of black women in 1941. However, the trip was cancelled as a result of our "defense program" during World War II. See Sue Bailey Thurman to Mary Church Terrell, April 24, 1941, July 14, 1941 and August 7, 1941; See also Thurman to Haitian-Seminar Delegation, July 21, 1941, all letters contained in the Mary Church Terrell Papers, Library of Congress.
 35. "Membership Report," November 1950; "Membership Report," August 5, 1954, NCNW Papers; *Sun-Reporter*, October 31, 1953; November 21, 1953.
 36. Nash, *The American West Transformed*, p.88.
 37. William H. Chafe, *Women and Equality, Changing Patterns in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.85.
- Kirker, Larkin House, pp. 26-33.**
1. Robert J. Parker, "Building the Larkin House," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVI (Dec. 1937), 321-335. See also *Chapters in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin*, California Historical Society Special Publication Number 16, (San Francisco, 1939).
 2. The Monterey Style is reviewed definitively by D. Gebhard, "The Monterey Tradition: History Reordered," *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts*, VII, 1982, 14-19.
 3. "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of Californian in the Years 1827-28," trans. Charles Franklin Carter, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII (June 1929), 155.
 4. "Edward Vischer's First Visit to California," trans. and ed. Erwin G. Gudde, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIX (Sept. 1940), 196.
 5. George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), 1:346.
 6. Augusta Fink, *Monterey* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1972), p. 69.
 7. George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), 2:19. This expediency is illustrated in the right foreground of the first lithograph.
 8. Information regarding the building of the Larkin House is taken from Robert J. Parker, "Building the Larkin House," and will not be subsequently footnoted. Parker conjectures that the Larkin family occupied the unfinished house in June, 1836.
 9. *China Trade Days in California: Selected Letters from the Thompson Papers, 1832-1863*, ed. Donald Mackenzie Brown (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1947), p. 13. Thompson's house was apparently completed in July, 1836.
 10. *Larkin Papers*, 2:20.
 11. *Larkin Papers*, 2:x.
 12. Jeanne Van Nostrand, *A Pictorial and Narrative History of Monterey . . . 1770-1847* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), p. 66.
 13. *Larkin Papers*, 2:19-20.
 14. Quoted in Reuben L. Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece: A Narrative of California, 1832-1858 Based upon Unpublished Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, . . .* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1939), p. 54. This letter is not included in *The Larkin Papers*, which is limited largely to documents found in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley.
 15. Larkin's entertainment expenses were exorbitant for the time and place. Parker found that typically one month's bill for groceries and meat amounted to \$330. "Larkin, Anglo-American Businessman in Mexican California," *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Hubert Eugene Bolton*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945), p. 417.
 16. The term is Joseph Baird's. See his *Time's Wondrous Change* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1962), p. 9.
 17. Parker, "Larkin, Anglo-American Businessman," p. 417.
 18. *Alta California 1840-1842: The Journal and Observations of William Dane Phelps, Master of the Ship "Alert"*, ed. Briton Cooper Busch (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983), p. 242.
 19. *H.M.S. Sulphur at California, 1837 and 1839, . . .* ed. Richard A. Pierce and John H. Winslow, (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1969), p. 28.
 20. William E. Thomes, *On Land and Sea, or California in the Years 1843, '44 and '45* (Boston: De Wolfe, Fisk and Company, 1884), p. 76.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
 23. Hugh Morrison notes the similarity between Connelly's Tavern and the Larkin House in *Early American Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 266.
 24. Parker, "Chapters in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin," pp. 10, 41.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
 26. William Robert Garner, *Letters from California, 1846-47*, ed. Donald Munro Craig (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), frontispiece. Hutton's sketch is authenticated in Charles F.B. Guillou, *Oregon and California Drawings, 1841 and 1847* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1961), plate 7. This plate also shows the double veranda on the north side of Larkin's house.
 27. The most accurate representation of the Casa Grande seems to be the drawing made in the summer of 1851 by George Gibbs in the Smithsonian Institution. It corroborates

the rough sketch of 1846 made from memory by William Boggs. Both reproduced in Robert D. Parmelee, *Pioneer Sonoma* (Napa: Sonoma Index-Tribune, 1972), pp. 22, 80.

28. Robert Louis Stevenson, *From Scotland to Silverado*, ed. James D. Hart (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1966), p. 158.
29. Martin Filler, "An American Romance," *House & Garden*, 155 (April 1983), 106-116, 162-163.

Lincoln, My Experience, pp. 34-41.

The following works provided information on the earthquake and fire and on San Francisco's landmarks to supplement Chester Lincoln's personal memories: William Bronson, *The Earth Shook, the Sky Burned* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959); Michael R. Corbett, *Splendid Survivors* (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1979, p. 85); Gerstle Mack, 1906, *Surviving San Francisco's Great Earthquake and Fire* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981); Lucile MacPherson, "Parrot's Granite Block," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* LXXXV (April 1926); and City and County of San Francisco. The Municipal Record, Library Edition, XVIII: 47 (November 19, 1925), p. 410.

1. The Parrott Building was a three-story office building financed and constructed in 1852 by San Francisco banker John Parrott. It was built of granite blocks quarried and prefitted in China and was constructed on the northwest corner of California and Montgomery streets by temporarily imported Chinese craftsmen and laborers. It housed the first office of the Wells Fargo Bank. It was demolished in 1926.
2. Built in 1898 on the southwest corner of Third and Market streets, the *Call* Building was also known as the Claus Spreckels Building. It served as the office of the *San Francisco Call* newspaper. Six stories were added when it was modernized in 1938. It is now known as the Central Tower.
3. This became known as the "Ham-and-Eggs Fire." It ignited the previously safe Western Addition (Hayes Valley) and swept east through Van Ness Avenue to Market Street and into the Mission District.
4. Mayor Eugene Schmitz had authorized federal troops and police officers to kill looters and others in-

volved in criminal activity.

5. Sensational reports were common, including one newspaper account of 5,000 dead. Another newspaper incorrectly reported that a wide crevasse had engulfed the "lower part of town." According to statistics in the San Francisco Archives in 1984, the actual death count was 826.

Franklin, Mining Frontiers, pp. 48-57.

1. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History*, (New York, 1932), pp. 18-19. Paul Sharp explored the concept in 1955 by comparing briefly the frontier movements in the United States, Canada, and Australia, "Three Frontiers: Some Comparative Studies of Canadian, American, and Australian Settlement," *Pacific Historical Review*, November, 1955. However, his article is more suggestive than definitive, as is Harry Allen's little book, *Bush and Backwoods, A Comparison of the Frontier in Australia and the United States*, (East Lansing, Michigan, 1959). More recently, Morris W. Wills demonstrated the viability of comparing the California and Victoria frontiers in "Sequential Frontiers: The Californian and Victorian Experience, 1850-1900," *Western History Quarterly*, October, 1978.
2. See W.W. Robinson, *Land in California*, (Los Angeles, 1948).
3. See William E. Franklin, "Peter H. Burnett and the California Provisional Government," *California Historical Quarterly*, June, 1961. Old, but still useful are Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. V (San Francisco, 1886), and Vol. VI (San Francisco, 1888).
4. Charles H. Shinn, *Mining Camps, A Study in American Frontier Government*, (New York, 1965, first published in 1884), p. 118.
5. W.P. Morrell, *The Gold Rushes*, (London, 1940), p. 89.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
7. Shinn, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 125; Blackwood Papers, Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, *passim*.
9. H.J. Stackpoole, *Gold at Ballarat, The Ballarat East Goldfield, Its Discovery and Development*, (Kilmore, Victoria, 1971), p. 45.
10. *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer* (Geelong, Victoria) September 12, 1851.
11. *The Melbourne Daily News and Port*

Phillip Patriot, September 11, 1851.

12. *Geelong Advertiser*, September 4, 1851.
13. *San Francisco Star and Californian*, December 2, 1848.
14. *Star and Californian*, December 23, 1848; *San Francisco Alta California*, January 4, 25, 1849.
15. *Alta California*, January 25, 1849.
16. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1849.
17. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1849.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Stackpoole, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. See also various issues of the *Ballarat Advertiser*, *The Melbourne Argus*, *The Melbourne Herald*, and the *Melbourne Daily News* for this time period.
20. Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age, A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861*, p. 95.
21. E. Daniel Potts, *Young America and Australian Gold*. (Brisbane, 1974.)
22. William Kelly, *Life in Victoria, or Victoria in 1853 and Victoria in 1858*, (London, 1859), I, 191-192.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.
24. Serle, *The Golden Age*, pp. 102-104.
25. *Melbourne Herald*, January 7, 1853.
26. Serle, *The Golden Age*, p. 105, quoting the *Melbourne Herald*.
27. *Melbourne Argus*, July 22, 1853; the petition is printed in the *Melbourne Herald*, August 9, 1853.
28. *Melbourne Herald*, August 9, 1853.
29. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1853.
30. *Melbourne Argus*, August 17, 1854.
31. Hotham to S. of S., September 10, 1854. Quoted in Serle, *The Golden Age*, p. 157.
32. Serle, *The Golden Age*, p. 163.
33. Hotham to S. of S., November 18, 1854. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 163-164.
34. *Melbourne Argus*, November 21, 1854.
35. Serle, *The Golden Age*, p. 164; Raffaello Carboni, *The Eureka Stockade*, (Melbourne, 1855), *passim*; Geoffrey Serle, "The Causes of Eureka," *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand, Eureka Supplement*, 2nd ed., (Melbourne, 1965), pp. 42-54, *passim*; Geoffrey Serle, "The Gold Generation," *The Victorian Historical Magazine*, February, 1970, pp. 265-272; *Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of the Gold Fields of Victoria, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council*. 1854-5, II, A76.
36. Serle, *The Golden Age*, p. 164.
37. W.B. Withers, *History of Ballarat* (Ballarat, 1887), p. 92.
38. Serle, *The Golden Age*, p. 164.
39. H.R. Nicholls, "Reminiscences of the Eureka Stockade," *Centennial Magazine*, II (1890), p. 747.

40. Carboni, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
42. Byrne's Testimony, *Report of the Commission on the Gold Fields*, V. & P., 1854-5, II, 102.
43. *Melbourne Argus*, April 10, 1855; Carboni, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
44. R.D. Walche, "The Significance of Eureka in Australian History," *Eureka Supplement*, pp. 103-127.
45. *Melbourne Argus*, December 6, 1854.
46. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1854.

Nathan, Rediscovered Treasure, pp. 58-63.

1. Of the 79 Fardon photographs in the Provincial Archives at Victoria, 77 are portraits and only two are pictures of individual buildings. Though he did exhibit "views of Vancouver Island" at the London International Exhibition of 1862 and publish a four-panel panorama of Victoria's waterfront the next year, it is clear that these were brief forays into view work by a photographer whose career centered on portraiture.
2. *Photographic and Fine Art Journal* (New York), April 1857, 112.
3. There is specific mention of this sitting in James deFremery's unpublished diary for the date of March 10, 1859. The three deFremery family portraits will be treated with greater attention in a forthcoming book on the San Francisco photographs of Fardon by Rodger Birt and Marvin R. Nathan.
4. This "new" Fardon pannotype was found in August, 1985 by Assistant Curator of Photographs Stephen J. Fletcher while researching visual materials for the Lick Observatory.
5. The 203 Clay Street studio is Fardon's third known business location in San Francisco. The first, which appears in a photograph of the upper or Western end of Portsmouth Square in the deFremery collection, was a small temporary building or trailer on Brenham Place between Clay and Washington. The second, at 146 Kearny Street, appears in the *Baggett, Joseph & Co. San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing Jan. 1, 1856*. Then in another city directory apparently published later in 1856 by Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, Fardon is listed at "203 Clay up stairs." In Langley's 1858 directory Fardon is still located at the same address. During the 1850s Clay Street was the avenue of photogra-

phers in San Francisco. At one time or another during the decade, a half dozen or more daguerreans were located on the 100 and 200 blocks of Clay (see Peter E. Palmquist, "The Daguerreotype in San Francisco," in *The History of Photography*, 4:3 [July 1980] 236). Since 203 Clay on the second floor is given as daguerrean J.M. Ford's business address in the La Count and Strong directory of 1854, it would appear that Fardon moved into the Clay Street quarters that his better known contemporary had occupied before Ford moved to a more elaborate location across Kearny Street later in 1854. Another photographer, S.P. Howes, probably occupied the studio in the interim (Palmquist, p. 238, citing a passage from the 1857 article in *Photographic and Fine Arts Journal*). There has been much speculation about the possible professional relationship of Ford and Fardon. Although the similarity of their names has perhaps caused some confusion, there are intriguing hints that the two men might have had some sort of working relationship. Since Ford had a hand in the development of Carlton E. Watkins' career, it is not beyond reason that he might have played a similar role in Fardon's. Certainly much remains to be learned about whether or not there was a Ford-Fardon connection.

6. The California Historical Society possesses three other portraits of John Henry Lick, all *cartes-de-visite*. One of these photographs was taken by well known San Francisco photographer George H. Johnson and dates from the early 1860s, after John Lick returned from his European trip. The other two are by Philadelphia photographers, the first by F. Gutekunst, the second by Theodore Evers. Since *cartes-de-visite* did not exist in 1855 when Lick left Pennsylvania to meet his father, the two Philadelphia portraits were taken either when John was *en route* to or coming home from Europe in 1858 or 1859, or shortly after he returned to live permanently in the East around 1862. Evidence for these dates is provided by the photographers' addresses on the back of the two portraits. Gutekunst is listed at 704-6 Arch Street, studios he occupied in either 1856 or 1857 and vacated in 1866. Evers' address is 606 Arch Street, quarters he used from 1859 to 1863.
7. Despite the destruction of much ma-

terial on James Lick's life in the earthquake and fire of 1906, several reasonably complete treatments of his career and his relationship with his son, constructed from early California histories and family letters, are available. The best known is *The Generous Miser* by his great-grandniece, Rosemary Lick (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1967). Others are William H. Worrirow's *James Lick, 1796-1876, Pioneer and Adventurer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), Edward C. Lahey's *California's Miser Philanthropist: A Biography of James Lick* (a Master's thesis at the University of California, Berkeley, 1949), an anonymous "The Life of James Lick" in Volume I, Number II of the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers* (1924), and Miriam Allen deFord's *They Were San Franciscans* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1941). In addition, there are frequent references to James Lick in local California newspapers of his time as well as in nineteenth century histories such as Benjamin E. Lloyd's *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco: H.L. Bancroft & Co., 1876), John Hittell's *History of California*, Volume IV (San Francisco: N.J. Stone & Company, 1897) and Lick's sometime lawyer Theodore Hittell's *The History of San Francisco and incidentally of California* (San Francisco: H.L. Bancroft & Co., 1878).

8. John Hittell, *History of California*, IV, 581.
9. Like the deFremery and Doyle pannotypes, the Lick photograph is in size somewhat on the order of the later *carte-de-visite*. Its dimensions are $2\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with the picture surface emulsion being $2\frac{1}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$ inches. Evidence that the picture was meant to have a special setting in an album, or, more probably, in a glass front frame within a folding leather, wooden or thermoplastic case (like many daguerreotypes, tinctypes or ambrotypes) is provided by the impression of a flattened arch frame around the picture area of the photograph. We do not know how much Fardon charged clients for sittings and portraits. However the Bancroft Library possesses a Fardon photograph of Fort Vigilance, the headquarters of the Vigilance Committee of 1856, which has inscribed on it, quite possibly in the photographer's own hand, "Daguerreotype on Paper For sale at Fardon's Photographic Rooms 203 Clay Street

\$1.00 Each."

10. An oddity appears in this flat gray background. Visible are what seem to be two fingerprints placed in the emulsion before it had completely dried. While it is impossible to know to whom they belong, it is tempting to speculate that they are those of Fardon himself since we know of no assistant he had in the San Francisco years. He was unmarried and thus not assisted by a wife, and he would have had the greatest opportunity to have handled the photograph while its collodion and chemical surface was still in the process of setting up.
11. Since a pannotype, like a daguerreotype and ambrotype, reverses the photographic image, the description here relates to the viewer's left and right not to the left and right of the photograph's subject.
12. Rosemary Lick, *The Generous Miser*, pp. 57 and 80. The Masonic pendant which the younger Lick wears has the shape of a keystone which is the symbol of the Royal Arch Masons of the York Rite. The Royal Arch Masons are second stage Freemasons including the fourth to the ninth degrees. This relatively low level seems to be fitting for a man in his late thirties as was John Lick.
13. The use of leather for photographs referred to here as the pannotype is quite rare and seems to have been practiced in California for less than a decade from the mid 1850s to the early 1860s. Actually, the first pannotypes were done in Paris in 1853 on black linen which had been waxed to smooth the rough cloth texture and provide a base for the collodion emulsion in which the image would be formed. This French pannotype process was patented, but when it came to the United States in the next year, innovative American photographers used several flexible, clothlike materials, including leather, for their pictures. It is an open question whether the term "pannotype"—from the Latin *pannus* meaning cloth and *typus* meaning figure—was used in a generic sense for all such photographs in the 1850s and 1860s or came into use only in the twentieth century to describe mid-nineteenth century cloth and leather positives. Since leather was readily available on the West Coast, it became a popular pannotype medium in California. It is unclear whether or not Fardon and other Western practitioners

waxed their leather before placing the emulsion on it, but the use of wax as a base was probably unnecessary if the leather piece was tanned to a smooth surface. The leather was no more expensive to make, but was less economical in the long run than paper photography, since many paper positives could be made from a single glass negative while the leather pannotype was a singular picture unable to be copied except by taking a completely new photograph of the original image on leather. To produce a pannotype, a piece of leather was cut and then coated with light sensitive chemicals. It was then placed in the camera and an exposure, taking six to eight seconds, was made. The leather piece was then removed from the camera and the image was quickly fixed by the addition of a chemical solution. After this process was completed, a coating of lacquer was often applied to prevent the picture surface from cracking as the leather expanded and contracted when exposed to different temperatures and levels of moisture. Because of their unusualness and durability, and because all of Fardon's extant portraits on leather were done for well-to-do families, it seems reasonable to believe that such photographs were attractive mainly to wealthier clientele and were regarded as more valuable than their contemporary paper equivalents. However, the quality of tones and resolution on leather surfaces was often inferior to that on paper.

14. Among the deFremery Fardon photographs, in a view of the upper or western end of Portsmouth Square, a small temporary building or trailer appears with a photographer's skylight window partly opened and a sign in front reading "Daguerreotypes on Paper."
15. During his Canadian years Fardon claimed to have introduced paper photographs to San Francisco. However the firm of Hamilton and Shew was the first in the city to advertise pictures "on glass, paper, or metal plates," doing so in November, 1854 (Palmquist, p. 236, citing an advertisement in the *Sacramento Union* for November 18, 1854). Nonetheless there presently exists no evidence that Fardon had not used paper earlier. He was certainly the only local photographer stressing the exclusive use of paper in all his advertisements from 1856 to 1858. In the case

of leather photographs, again there seems to be no clear evidence of their use in San Francisco before Fardon. Lawrence Dineen, Photographic Curator of the Bancroft Library, knows of no pannotypes from San Francisco in the 1850s, and Douglas Haller, Photographic Curator of the California Historical Society, knows of only one, an anonymous octagon-shaped portrait of San Francisco attorney Harry Innes Thornton housed in a mold-plastic "Union" case. Since Thornton died in January of 1861, there is no reason to assume that this pannotype predates Fardon's. One other interesting mention of photographs on leather is given by William H. Brewer in his *Up and Down California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930). A member of the Whitney Survey of California conducted from 1860 to 1864, he notes that at Pescadero Ranch on May 27, 1861, "we got an 'artist' to bring his camera out to camp and take a few pictures of camp on leather. He took four—not good in an artistic sense, but good as showing our camp." Of course, these leather photographs postdate Fardon's by at least three years.

16. See Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco 1848–1856 From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974); Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); and Peter R. Decker, *Fortunes and Failures: White Collar Mobility in Nineteenth Century San Francisco* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978). This last work is the most systematic in its treatment of the relationship between economics and the character of life and society in the city.
17. For the latest study of the role of the merchant elite in the Vigilance Committee of 1856 and the economic desperation which led them to behave so militantly see Robert M. Senkewicz, *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).
18. A recent reprinting of *The San Francisco Album* has been published under the title *San Francisco in the 1850s: 33 Photographic views by G.R. Fardon* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977). Though the editor's introduction and the description of the 33 views leave much to be desired, the photographs are nicely reproduced from one of the few remaining original Albums.

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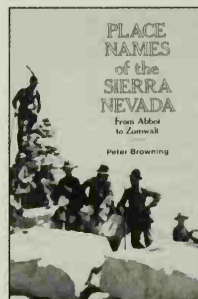
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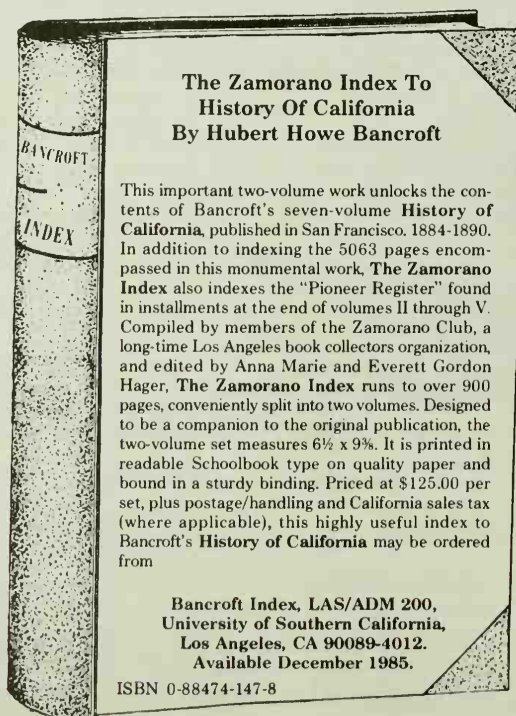
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BACK COVER: Rosalia Vallejo Leese, sister of General Mariano Vallejo and wife of Jacob P. Leese.

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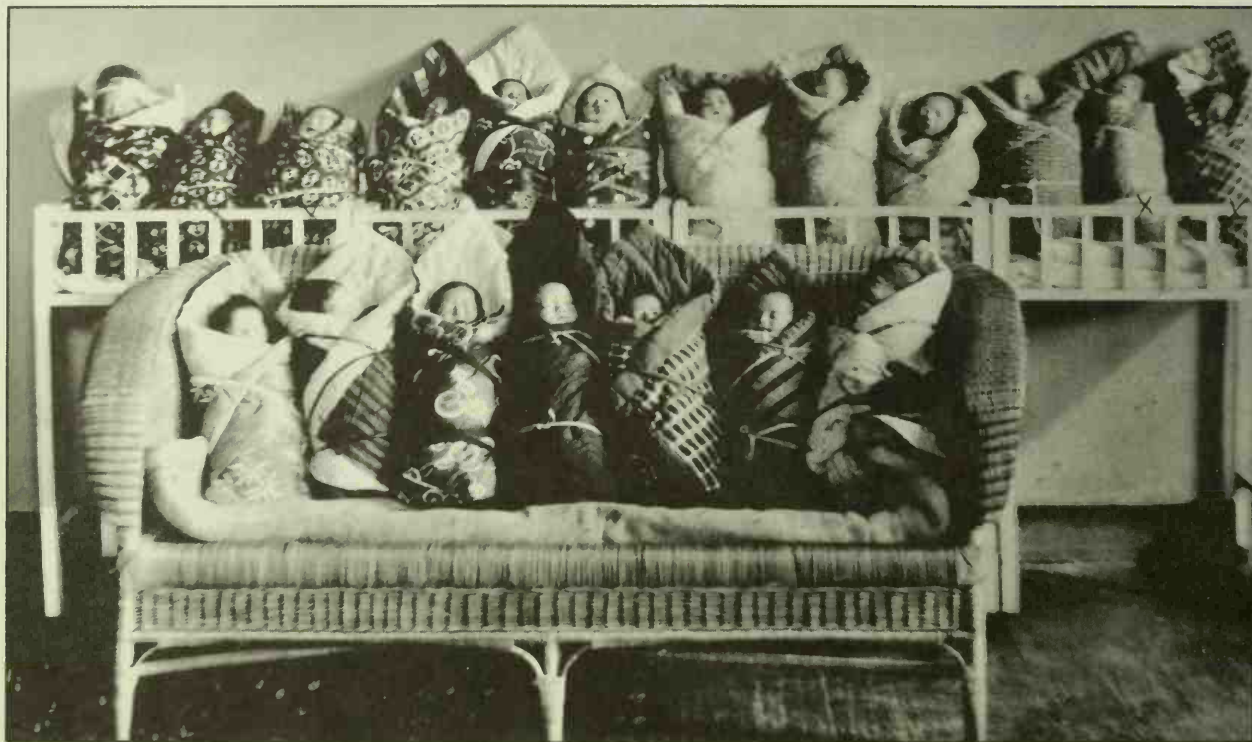
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California Snapshots



ABOVE: Chinese babies at a children's health center run by the Certified Milk Fund Committee of the San Francisco branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (now the American Association of University Women), probably between 1910 and 1920. The committee was founded in 1909 to "raise a fund for providing certified milk to the children of San Francisco's poor." Before pasteurization and refrigeration, milk was frequently contaminated, and babies who were not nursed by their mothers were particularly at risk of contracting milk-borne illnesses. "Certified milk," produced and transported under strict sanitary regulations, was available for a substantial extra cost; its use was known to reduce infant mortality. In 1907, fifty-nine percent of the infants cared for in San Francisco orphanages died. Although the death rate was dramatically reduced the next year when the city began placing "dependent children" in foster homes instead of large institutions, funds were not provided to purchase certified milk until the Certified Milk Fund Committee inaugurated its subsidy for infants in foster care. Foster mothers receiving milk were instructed in formula preparation and child nutrition at sessions to which they were required to bring the babies for periodic checkups. From these sessions evolved the children's health centers, which provided well-child care and health education to biological and foster mothers and their children. By 1917, the mortality rate for infants in foster care had dropped to 3.7 percent.

Working closely with the San Francisco Board of Health, the committee (which became the Baby Hygiene Committee in 1918) eventually ran well-child centers at several places in the city. Gradually these were taken over by the Board of Health. Eleanor Graubner, the committee's founder, wrote in 1941, "Much of the service of the Committee bears out the validity of the theory that welfare work very properly can be started by a private agency and carried on by private funds until proven useful and essential to the well-being of the whole community. The experiment, once proven a success, can safely be undertaken by government agencies."

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COVER: Charles Shuffler photographed cars, roads, and agricultural development in Siskiyou County. Here the cars seem to have replaced horses in a traditional sport with a utilitarian twist: rattlesnakes interfered with farming in the newly opened agricultural lands of Siskiyou's valleys, and organized hunts for them were common. Shuffler recorded these hunters and their prey around 1910.

SISKIYOU COUNTY MUSEUM

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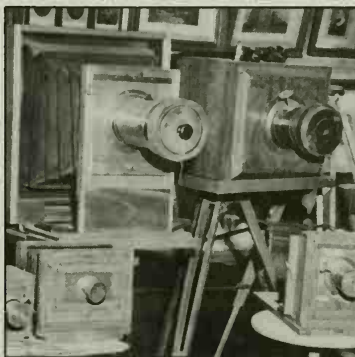
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A CALIFORNIA STATESWOMAN

THE PUBLIC CAREER OF KATHERINE PHILIPS EDSON

by Jacqueline R. Braitman

In a public career which challenged nineteenth- and early twentieth-century notions of femininity, Katherine Philips Edson (1870–1933) helped transform California into a leading Progressive state. As an important figure in California's Progressive party, Edson was instrumental in bringing about major industrial and social reforms affecting women as workers and consumers. She also campaigned tirelessly and effectively for the right of women to participate meaningfully in electoral politics, asserting that in a modern, industrial society women could not attend to their traditional domestic concerns unless they were able to affect the policies that determined the conditions of home life. This theme was to carry her in a logical progression from fighting for the regulation of milk production for the Los Angeles market to protect babies from disease all the way to participation in the International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments in Washington. Yet her consistent pursuit of women's rights also led to pragmatic political alliances which brought her together in the national arena with Charles Evans Hughes at a time when many of her Progressive col-

leagues supported Woodrow Wilson and later with Warren Harding. In a tragic irony, Edson's competence and energy on behalf of the rights of women in the public sphere also contributed at least in part to the deterioration and eventual dissolution of her marriage.

Katherine Philips Edson grew up in a reform-minded family in Kenton, Ohio. Her father, a medical doctor who specialized in women's health problems, was active in state politics, often on behalf of equal rights for women. Edson's own early interests, however, were in the realm of the artistic. After graduating from the Glendale Female Seminary in Ohio, she studied operatic singing at a Chicago conservatory, where at the age of twenty she met a kindred spirit in music teacher Charles Farwell Edson. They married and planned a European trip to study grand opera. To finance their project, the young couple borrowed money from Charles's wealthy relatives and invested it in an almond orchard and ranch in southern California's Antelope Valley. In 1891 they moved to the property.

Charles, Katherine, and his parents managed the Chinese workers on the ranch for nine years. Perhaps

to combat the boredom and isolation of ranch life, and to compensate for the failed dream of European travel, Katherine began an informal series of what she called "female round-ups," gathering the women of the region to share experiences, knowledge, and skills such as setting a hen, teaching a calf to drink, kneading bread, and the fundamentals of nutrition. In her mind, she was carrying on her mother's tradition of community neighborliness.¹

The couple found farm life increasingly frustrating, however, particularly after undertaking a series of unprofitable irrigation schemes. Soon after the birth of their second child, Philips Josiah, Charles and Katherine decided in 1899 to give up ranching for what they hoped would be a more lucrative and creative life style in Los Angeles. They brought baby Philips along but left four-year-old Katharine with Charles's parents until they could establish a secure financial base.

By the time Charles sent for his daughter and his parents five years later, the Edsons had made a central

Katherine Philips Edson at an unrecorded date during her tenure on the IWC.

EDSON COLLECTION, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UCLA



place for themselves in the cultural life of the growing city. According to one observer, Charles's workshop studio "filled with souvenirs of pioneer days,"² was not only for business but "was also a delightful rendezvous for lovers of the artistic, and for Bohemians."³ Kate and Charles regularly held European-style salons in their comfortably furnished home, where members of the political and arts communities would come for dinner and sparkling conversation.

Despite such pleasures, there was also bitterness. Katharine and her grandparents had difficulty adjusting to the family's new situation, and the long separation between Katharine and her mother created a schism almost impossible to repair. Both strong and willful, they were often at odds with each other. Meanwhile, the marriage was strained by continuing financial dependence on Charles's mother, Maria Louise Farwell.⁴ When Philips Josiah contracted polio in about 1902 or 1903, Katherine responded with an all-consuming concern that distanced her from her husband. Over the years, Charles and Katherine would grow further apart from each other as she became involved in crusades outside the home and Charles's career failed to provide economic security.

In the early years, however, Charles encouraged his wife's ambition. He also published articles and poetry championing liberal causes in the *California Outlook*. His own fam-

ily's legacy was one of dedicated public service in the tradition of the nineteenth century social gospel. During the California women's suffrage campaign of 1896, while Katherine was pregnant with Philips Josiah, Charles took over his wife's campaigning. In 1913 the press touted them as an example of a modern couple who were able to establish a mutually supportive and stable partnership in their marriage.⁵

By the time Charles Farwell, Jr., was born in 1905, Katherine Edson had gained a reputation as an effective organizer and soon held a variety of local leadership posts. She served first as secretary of the prestigious Los Angeles Friday Morning Club, and then, between 1908 and 1911, as the club's vice president. In this early period her most significant contributions came during her term as chairman of the club's Committee on Public Health from 1911 to 1913 and the Committee on Industrial and Social Conditions from 1913 to 1915. These committees, along with her continuing work on behalf of suffrage, were the stepping-stones for Edson to become one of California's leading pioneers in social and labor reform. Under her guidance, according to the *Pacific Empire Express Reporter*, "the Friday Morning Club became the most powerful civic body in Los Angeles."⁶ She played a major role in the club's evolution from an organization devoted to cultural and philanthropic affairs to one advocating reform of municipal and state agencies, political rights, conservation, public health, labor legislation, consumer consciousness, and a host of other issues. As one

of many local affiliates of the California State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Friday Morning Club allowed women to participate in civic affairs within the Los Angeles community while also linking them to the General Federation of Women's Clubs, a nationwide organization which by 1910 had a membership of perhaps one million.⁷

Among Edson's earliest campaigns was her fight for pure milk legislation, in which she orchestrated an alliance of women's groups against business leaders and municipal authorities who were reluctant to take action that she deemed essential. The campaign provided Edson with her first opportunity to articulate publicly her ideas about the challenges facing women in a modern society. The demand for enforceable sanitation standards in milk production and distribution arose from alarm over the high rate of infant death in major American cities. One report concluded that "vital statistics showed that mortality among infants fed cow's milk was much higher than among breast-fed infants. Digestive disorders and diarrheal diseases of infants are thought to be due to impure food, especially milk."⁸

Between 1890 and 1910 most states and larger cities in the United States enacted regulatory milk laws. Edson led the pure milk movement in Los Angeles. Beginning in late 1909 as a private citizen representing the Friday Morning Club, she investigated production techniques in southern California dairies. The producers came to dread Edson since she frequently surprised them with her visits. In the course of her nine-month investigation, she gained an appointment as the only non-medi-

Jacqueline Braitman is a doctoral candidate at UCLA and is currently at work on a dissertation on the life of Katherine Philips Edson.



The Edsons with close relatives at the Belle Louise Ranch in Antelope Valley some time in 1893. Left to right: Maude Philips, Harriet Carlin Philips, Epaphras Wadsworth Edson, Lem (the Chinese cook), Katherine Philips Edson, Charles Farwell Edson, Philips Josiah Edson, and Maria Louise Farwell.

COURTESY OF ELIZABETH NORDMAN

cally licensed member of the Los Angeles County Medical Milk Commission.⁹ Already considered an expert on the pure milk issue, she now had the force of authority behind her.

When Edson presented her findings to the Friday Morning Club in June, 1910, the *Los Angeles Record* announced "Club Women Can Start Campaign for Pure Milk!"¹⁰ "The improvement of the milk situation," declared Edson, "rests with the legislative committee of the city council."¹¹ At present, the "city health officer can do nothing, for he has no authority. The health department needs a thorough overhauling. The health officer can neither appoint nor dismiss his subordinates. This is done by the Board of Health." According to Edson, "our milk ordinances are excellent, and if we had an adequate force of veterinarians and inspectors to enforce them rigidly we would not now be starting a crusade against tubercular cows." Edson's findings indicated that at least ten percent of the cows providing milk to the city were carriers of bovine tuberculosis.¹²

The City Council endorsed

Edson's recommendations for more veterinarians and inspectors, and they applauded the role of the women's clubs in the investigation, but they failed to provide the necessary funds. From Mayor George Alexander came even less support. He defended the Board of Health's record and suggested that the women's clubs target the state legislature for the needed money since the issue was far from a local problem.¹³ In the latter respect the mayor was correct. Los Angeles received milk from some 1,500 dairies scattered throughout central and southern California.¹⁴ The city had no jurisdiction over the production or the quality of the imported milk.

Edson countered that the city's Board of Health had "cumbersome and archaic" regulations. By mid-June, 1910, she had obtained a seat on the Los Angeles charter revision committee, which enabled her to help "revamp" the municipal code.¹⁵ The new charter allowed for two additional milk inspectors and a veterinarian, and it placed milk inspection in the forefront of city services.¹⁶ Edson also recognized the need to

alter existing state regulations, and in 1912 persuaded the annual convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs to pass a resolution endorsing state and federal action to "stamp out bovine tuberculosis in dairy herds."¹⁷ Dairy producers—sometimes concerned about milk quality but more worried about higher costs—opposed congressional and state regulation. Several bills calling for more rigid processing standards were presented to the 1913 legislature, one of which finally received Governor Hiram Johnson's signature. The new law empowered the state to regulate the production and sale of certified milk, cream, ice cream, butter and cheese.¹⁸

Edson was delighted, but by this time she was fighting battles on other fronts. She had campaigned for Hiram Johnson in his 1910 gubernatorial election and then had played a major role in the campaign for women's suffrage in California. Both the suffrage campaign and the battle for pure milk had introduced her to the world of practical politics and reaffirmed her conviction that women had a special role to play in

The Friday Morning Club, from which Edson began her public career by investigating the milk industry, was a major institution. The club's headquarters building on Figueroa Street, shown here in 1910, demonstrates how substantial the organization's resources were.

CHS/TICOR TITLE INSURANCE COLLECTION, LOS ANGELES



government. Edson wrote to a friend what she had often said in public:

*If the milk supply is in the hands of politicians, how can a woman who wants to do the right thing by her babies stay at home and keep quiet while they drink impure milk? If your water supply is bad, are you going to keep quiet or are you going to demand pure water? And have you ever demanded anything that comes under politics and got it if you didn't have some force behind you? Do you get full measure when you buy, and are weights and measures properly regulated and really inspected? We didn't need the ballot when we all lived in small communities and when we had control of all these things. Control of them has passed into the hands of the community, and it is perfectly senseless to suppose that the men are going to look after them, now. They never have and they never will!"*¹⁹

As the official organizer for the Political Equality League of Los Angeles, it was Edson, according to one California historian, who "induced the Lincoln-Roosevelt League at its first meeting [in 1907] to endorse woman suffrage."²⁰ The League later gained control of the

machinery of the Republican party, and in 1910, due to Edson's efforts, a suffrage plank was included in the state Republican platform. In 1911, after Johnson's successful campaign and during the state drive for women's suffrage, Edson was chosen as the League's representative to lobby at Sacramento.²¹ She was the only woman from southern California until the last week of the session and, as one paper reported, she "hung on the flank of the first Progressive legislature until it drafted a suffrage amendment."²²

Edson believed that the ballot would place the demands of the home, the family, and childrearing on firmer ground in the competition for society's limited resources. The ballot, she explained, would provide "the power to make the demand of the home and school as effective as harbor control, good roads and power and light development. All are equally essential to a great city, a great state and nation, a harmonious state where the best of man and woman is reflected in the government."²³ No longer confined to local affairs, women could play a larger

part in "social uplift" and "upkeep" as well as realize their power as individuals and citizens. She was particularly jubilant at future prospects for women of her generation. "The whole world," she wrote, "seems to be opened up to us . . . and we are going to be one of the very important forces in politics."²⁴

Governor Johnson recognized Edson's energy and skill, and, perhaps because of the influence she possessed among his constituents, he appointed her as a deputy inspector in the state Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1912. This post allowed her to study the industrial working conditions of women and children throughout California. What she discovered, especially about conditions in the canning industries, gave her a new set of issues. The fruit, fish, and vegetable canneries employed approximately 22,000 women during the canning season. This was more women than were employed in any other industry. Almost three-quarters of them were foreign born; most were from Italy and Portugal. Edson angrily noted the defects in equipment and the

miserable conditions under which most of these women labored. They stood knee deep in waste products and fish residue, breathing poorly ventilated air, and often in pain because of the ten, twelve, or more hours per day they had to stand in postures which deformed young and older women alike. Her inquiries into hours and payrolls revealed to her "for the first time the horrors of trying to live on an inadequate wage."²⁵ Edson now began to see women not only as mothers but also as a class of workers who were discriminated against and unable to help themselves, and she set out to alleviate the most despicable aspects of factory labor.

Her strategy included exposing other middle-class clubwomen to the lives of women less fortunate than themselves, and she noted approvingly the "humbling" process that her peers experienced as they learned about the misery just outside their immediate environs. But she also used her new information to impress upon the governor the need for immediate state intervention. Johnson encouraged her to draft a bill for the 1913 legislature. After studying similar legislative measures in other states and countries, Edson led the successful fight for California's 1913 minimum-wage law for women and children. To assure the constitutionality of the measure, the same legislature submitted for ratification by the voters an amendment to the state constitution which allowed the lawmakers to establish a minimum wage for women and minors and to provide "for the comfort, health, safety, and general welfare of any and all employees." This amendment was carried by a majority of 84,000 in 1914.²⁶

The 1913 law authorized the governor to create an Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) which would set and enforce wages, hours, and working conditions for women and children. Required by statute to appoint at least one woman to the five-member commission, Johnson named Edson.

The IWC was part of a concept of state administration popularized by reformers who believed that government agencies could help balance the competing interests within a capitalistic democracy. These agencies or commissions were to be staffed by politically neutral experts, who would consider the needs of different interests and utilize the new insights of scientifically rationalized management to make policy. Cooperation and compromise were expected to characterize negotiations and policies, but frequently co-optation and impotence resulted. Nevertheless, the commission form of government represented a major victory for reformers and provided important opportunities for women like Edson. Thirteen women were among Johnson's appointees to the commissions created during his administration. Significantly, seven of them were members of the California Federation of Women's Clubs.

Edson was straightforward about the philosophy that she took to her new post. As she saw it, minimum-wage legislation was based on the economic theory "that the basis of competition must be fixed, and it must not go below the weakest members of society, and they are the women and children. It fixes a basis for competition, so that under it none can go; and therefore women

and children are protected from exploitation by society."²⁷ As progenitors of the race, women were believed to be fragile creatures in need of special care in the work force. Reformers felt that the state had a responsibility to provide that care because trade unionists had failed to organize women and give them the protection of the collective bargaining process. Most unionists looked upon unskilled women workers as an unstable element within the work force. They also feared that if the state legislated the minimum wage for women, the women would be less inclined to join the unions that did welcome them. Moreover, such a precedent might encourage future legislation designating the maximum wage that workers could earn. Such opposition reflected a deep distrust of state interference. Yet labor heralded state intervention when it put limits on employers' practices. Although Edson believed that collective bargaining was a fundamentally correct means of giving women workers a share in the control of conditions of employment, she believed that the immediate possibility of getting women to organize was remote.²⁸

For Edson the IWC was more than a regulatory agency. She believed that the commission reflected a substantial shift in capitalist ideology. The most important achievement of the IWC, she argued, would be to bring to "big business throughout the state the realization that private business is no longer private business but public business." The state would no longer sanction the idea that "any man's method of conducting his own business, as it touches the lives of others, is his own affair."²⁹ Edson's notion about the

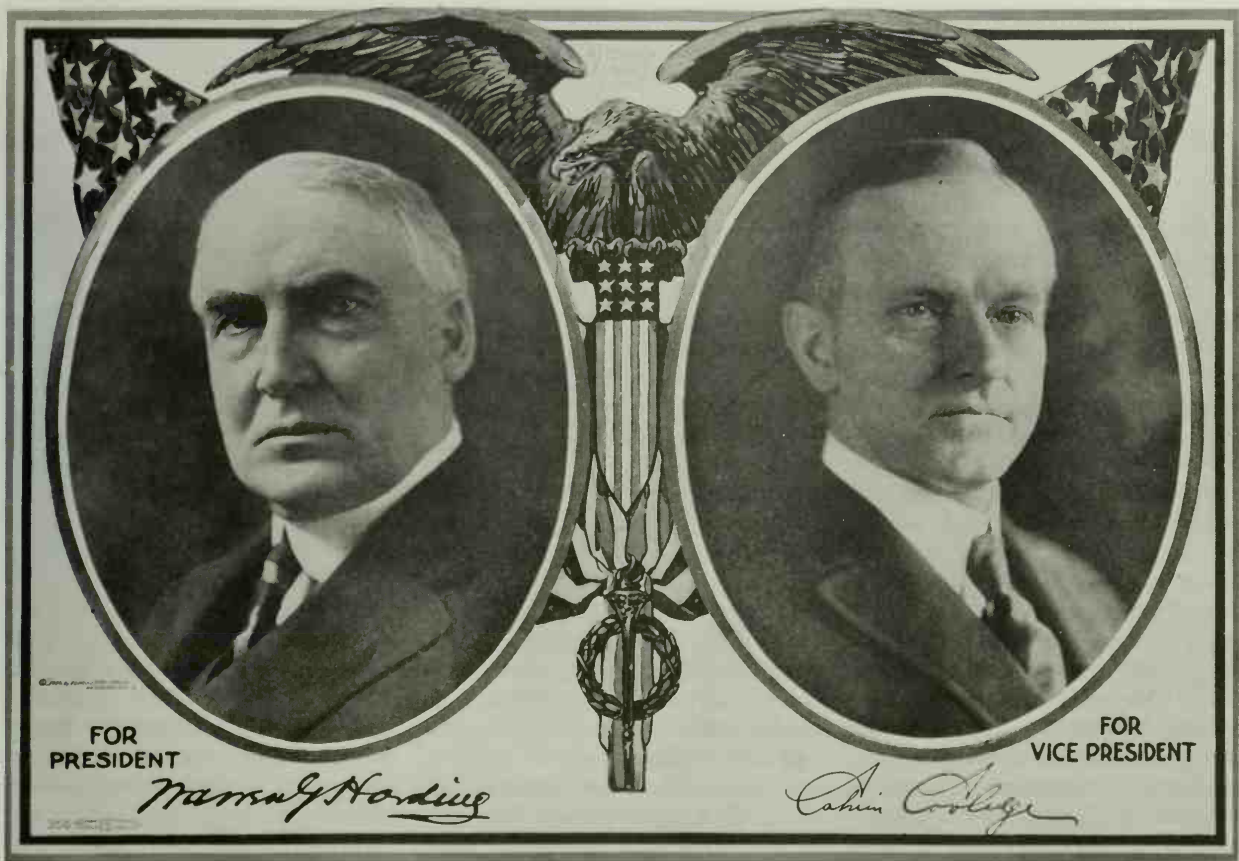


Katherine Philips Edson (second from the left) and the staff of the IWC, probably in the IWC office.



Katherine Philips Edson, probably around the time of her marriage.

COURTESY OF CHARLES FARWELL EDSON, JR.



Edson's support for Warren Harding in 1920 was based on her loyalty to the Republican Party and her belief that Harding was "entirely sincere" on issues related to women and labor. Edson had been among eight women who made nomination speeches at the 1920 Republican National Convention—for Hiram Johnson.
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Katherine Philips Edson (far right) with the other women members of the American advisory committee at the international Conference for the Limitation of Armaments in 1921. Edson's colleagues are (left to right) Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Eagan of New York.
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state's responsibility to its citizenry, which challenged traditional *laissez-faire* attitudes, paralleled her belief that women's roles could no longer be determined by nineteenth-century proscriptions that allowed only men to be active in the public sphere while relegating women to the private domestic sphere.

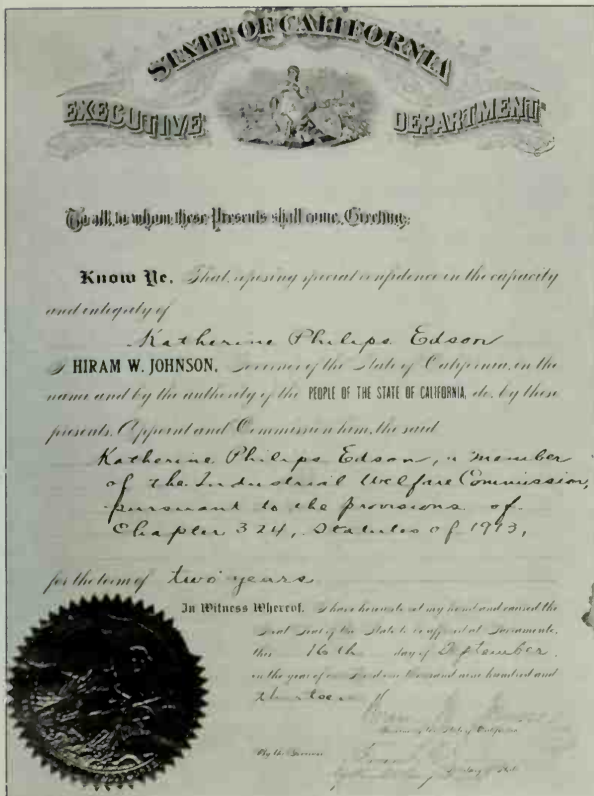
Although Edson also promoted legislation on behalf of child labor, her main concerns focused on adult female workers. At first the women most affected by the IWC were those in the canning industries. Cost-of-living studies made in 1914 showed that \$9.63 a week was the minimum required for what was then deemed a "proper" living for an independent woman. Payroll inspections showed that more than half of the working women in the major industries received less than this weekly wage. The IWC accordingly established a \$10 minimum wage in 1917 and 1918 in the mercantile, laundry, fish canning, fruit-and-vegetable canning, and packing and manufacturing industries in general, as well as in professional offices and in the unskilled and unclassified occupations. Over the years Edson guided studies which resulted in higher wage rates. In 1919 the minimum wage was set at \$13.50, and in 1920 at \$16.00. She also administered policies regulating workers' hours in the fruit-and-vegetable canning industry, in which the basic day was reduced to nine hours in 1917 and to eight hours in 1918.³⁰ The IWC's regulations were difficult to enforce in its early, underfunded years, but after 1916 state funding was increased and the commission acquired new confidence and power. In 1922 its jurisdiction was expanded to include the hotel and restaurant industries; the

motion picture industry was added in 1926.

Edson's vigorous efforts to improve the lot of working women contrasted sharply with the attitudes toward Asian laborers that she shared with most Californians in and out of the Progressive party. She kept a lower profile than many on the issue, however. While Governor Johnson backed the efforts of the exclusionsists, and the California Federation of Women's Clubs belonged to the Japanese Exclusion League, Edson did not publicly (or privately in her correspondence) espouse support of California's 1913 Alien Land Act, which denied Asians ineligible to citizenship the right to own land. Furthermore, as a member of the 1915 San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exhibition Committee, she opposed measures that would have interfered with Japanese participation in the event. She did not take a public position on the Asian immigration issue until after the second alien land law was passed in 1920. That legislation was designed to plug loopholes in the 1913 measure.³¹ In 1921, after a year of public debate on the issue, Edson published an article entitled "California's Japanese Problem." Believing that the press had focused attention only on what she called the "Japanese side" of the issue, Edson felt an obligation to set out "California's side" by defining the interests of American Californians.³² Despite the anti-Oriental attitudes common among most Progressives, Edson's opposition to Asian land ownership was couched in economic terms. Racial prejudice is implicit in the tone of her inveighment against the "old problem of Orientalization" and her fear of the "Oriental tide." Opposi-

tion to the Japanese was not confined merely to the "ignorant rabble," she asserted, and it was "false to assume that only intelligent, broad-minded people of the state are pro-Japanese."³³ "Naturally labor, and especially organized labor" she wrote, "was the first to take a stand against this new influx and demand that it be stopped, for the Japanese immigrants were all laborers." And as more Japanese came, they drove "white labor out and then forced orchardists and farmers first to lease and then to sell to them, setting up vegetable stands and little shops and driving out small white merchants . . ."³⁴ Further research will be necessary to determine whether or not Edson's feelings about this issue affected IWC policies.

The confidence and constitutionality of the IWC were badly shaken in 1923. On April 9, 1923, the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the minimum-wage law of Washington, D.C. Despite the adverse decision, the enforcement of minimum-wage regulations in California continued with cooperation from employers until July. At that time, according to an IWC report, the "ancient and always active enemy of industrial legislation, John R. Millar of the California Cotton Mills and President of the California Manufacturer's Association, challenged the constitutionality of the California law." Later in 1923 state Senator T.C. West sought an injunction against the IWC in the name of Helen Gainer. The commission, he argued, had prevented Gainer from securing employment in a candy factory at \$6.00 per week because the IWC had set her minimum apprenticeship rate at a higher level. When the lower court refused to grant the



Hiram Johnson's executive order appointing Edson to the Industrial Welfare Commission in 1913. Johnson's break with the past in appointing women to state office is reflected in the printed certificate which refers to Edson as "him."
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injunction, the case was appealed to the California Supreme Court where briefs were filed in support of the minimum wage by the IWC, the National Consumers' League, the California Federation of Women's Clubs, the California League of Women Voters, the Los Angeles local of the United Garment Workers' Unions of America, the Los Angeles local of the Waitresses and Cafeteria Workers' Union, and the Women's Christian Temperance Unions of both southern and northern California. Gainer petitioned to cancel the complaint on January 26, 1926, on the grounds that she was being used and was ignorant of the case.³⁵ The next day the case was dismissed. The IWC continued to enforce the minimum-wage law.

Edson remained on the Industrial Welfare Commission until 1931, serving as the chief of the Division of Industrial Welfare of the State Department of Industrial Relations for the last thirteen of these years. Throughout her service, as she became synonymous in the public's eye with the IWC, she continued to expand her knowledge of industrial

issues and her influence among women voters. Her influence also derived from the considerable time that she spent lobbying the state legislature.

To Edson, the "third house" was absolutely necessary in a democracy, especially in California, where "the difference between the present system of government and the past is that in the past we didn't have to have lobbyists, because when you wanted something . . . all you had to do was to go to the Southern Pacific boss." Women, she believed, had a special place in the informal aspects of the legislative process, for "no woman . . . was lobbying for any personal interest or property interest. Most women lobbyists were representing some humanitarian interest and were there on behalf of some class of people."³⁶ According to a *Los Angeles Examiner* reporter, "there is woe and wailing and gnashing of teeth among the lobbyists . . . but not by one Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson of Los Angeles, who comes near being the

most energetic of the lobby flock." When an order was issued to clear the chamber of lobbyists, Edson was stopped at the door. The doorkeeper told her she could not go in. She replied, "why of course I can go in. I am a state officer. I am a deputy of the labor commission." The *Examiner* summed up the situation, "now her work is easier than ever, for she has the lobby to herself."³⁷

Edson's influence among both men and women also increased as she traveled extensively as one the most sought-after speakers for California women's clubs as well as for agricultural, labor, business, municipal, and state organizations. Frequently she traveled along back roads to speak before unorganized and isolated rural folk, meeting the challenges of sometimes rowdy crowds who were skeptical toward a solitary city woman addressing anonymous faces from a stump. Often giving two or three speeches a day, and frequently winding up in bed for a week or more to regain her strength, she became Governor Johnson's leading defender and "information broker" to thousands

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*This undated handbill was
probably circulated while
Edson was building her
political reputation in
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throughout the state and particularly in the "cow counties" of southern California. Edson also traveled widely outside of California to study procedures of industrial oversight.

Gradually Edson forged links with northeastern and midwestern women's political, labor, and social reform associations and kept in touch by lengthy and frequent correspondence with prominent individuals such as Florence Kelley of the National Consumers' League, Carrie Chapman Catt of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, and Margaret Drier Robins of the Women's Trade Union League. National campaigns brought many of these reformers together as they attempted to bridge regional and class divisions in hopes of unifying on gender-related issues. But the alliances centered on gender issues were weaker in the national arena than in the state, and political differences were greater, causing many women activists to come to a parting of the ways. This became cruelly clear to Edson in 1916 when she experienced the pitfalls of a national presidential campaign.

Edson was among the members of California's Progressive party who reluctantly fused with the Republican party in the election of 1916. Incumbent Democrat Woodrow Wilson defeated challenger Charles Evans Hughes in 1916 by the closest margin in any national election up to that time.³⁸ When Hughes lost California by less than 4,000 votes, he also lost the election.³⁹ Hughes's less than colorful personality elicited a poor public response in California and elsewhere, but there is evidence that his California defeat was primarily the result of the split between the Progressive and "old guard" factions within the Republican party. Conservative Republicans' dislike for Governor Johnson and opposition to his bid for the U.S. Senate in 1915 caused them to rally behind another candidate and to take control of Hughes's California campaign. During his stay in California, Hughes failed to acknowledge Johnson, who, unbeknownst to him and old-line Republicans, still commanded a large loyal following.

Before the snub became public,

Edson and some other leading women reformers were campaigning for Hughes. Among reformers they were a minority, since most Progressives supported Wilson because of his accomplishments during the last two years. Edson believed that her programs would find more support from Hughes than from Wilson, partly because of Hughes's progressive record in New York. But the campaign for Hughes was a frustrating experience, especially for those who participated in Hughes's Women's Auxiliary Alliance.

Edson and other representatives of the Women's Auxiliary joined Hughes's "National Campaign Train," called the "Golden Special" by some of its detractors. Humorous as well as serious problems arose along the route. The campaign literally got off on the wrong track. Arriving in St. Paul, the engineer brought the train in on a different track from the one scheduled. "The welcoming committee of about fifteen women," noted a reporter, "had run a distance to catch the train and had only just straightened their hats

and tucked in the strands of their hair loosened by the run, when the engineer backed the train out to the yards and shunted down the right track and the whole band of indignant women had to take another run."⁴⁰

The Democratic opposition met the train at every stop, and newspapers throughout the country reported the mishaps experienced by the passengers on their speaking tour. Edson was among these targeted for trouble. When she tried to speak before a large crowd in Portland, Oregon, she was greeted by a rowdy group of women representing the International Workers of the World, which had come out in favor of Wilson. Front-page headlines announced "Mrs. Edson in Political Riot!"⁴¹ She was escorted to safety by police, rioters were arrested, and her speech was delivered later at an undisclosed location, Edson had been heckled before, but never with such ferocity.

Following Hughes's loss of the election, Edson looked forward to returning to her work with the IWC. Her disappointment at women's failure to unite behind Hughes soon turned to bitterness, as former allies turned against her and other women who had supported him. The breakup of the Women's Auxiliary Alliance for Hughes exposed the weaknesses in Republican efforts to organize women for national political activity. Edson reasoned that women's experience in national politics reflected their historical divisiveness, for they had never learned to identify with each other. "As you know," she wrote to Carrie Chapman Catt, "solidarity is about the last development in human nature," and she passed on a sentiment expressed by another friend: "women

and dogs have been trained for eons to be loyal to men and disloyal to each other, so six months of campaigning could not have overcome the training of generations."⁴²

There were more successful and fulfilling years ahead, however. As a mediator between workers and employers she turned many of those who had previously been hostile to government intervention into supporters of her wage measures. She "succeeded so well that other governmental agencies called upon her services."⁴³ Her reputation extended beyond California's borders and brought her new responsibilities, including appointment as an arbitrator for navy defense contracts and enforcement of industrial standards during World War I.⁴⁴

Early in 1918 Felix Frankfurter, then chairman of the War Labor Policies Board, offered Edson a position with the War Labor Administration. She was to be assigned to a nationwide speaking and educational campaign aimed at developing "a concrete practicable program for engaging women in the war effort." Frankfurter appealed to the IWC to relieve her of her duties for a few months, since she is "the only person for the work because of her adaptability, experience and personality."⁴⁵ A.B.C. Dohrmann, chairman of the IWC, agreed to the request but insisted that Edson could not leave until December because of pending wartime wage legislation. By then the war was over and an appointment unnecessary.⁴⁶

During and after the war Edson continued her efforts on behalf of a national suffrage amendment. When it gained approval in 1920 she rep-

resented southern California women at the 1921 St. Louis Convention of the National American Suffrage Association. Inspired by the events of the convention, she returned home and created the California branch of the League of Women Voters. She remained a life-long member and served a short term as the state chairman of the Committee on Women in Industry.

In addition to her efforts on behalf of the nonpartisan League of Women Voters, Edson remained a loyal Republican. As a member of the Los Angeles "Johnson For President" committee in 1920, she was one of five women elected as Hiram Johnson delegates to the Republican National Convention. There she seconded Johnson's nomination for President. Before she and six other women delivered nominating speeches at the convention, only Jane Addams had done so.⁴⁷ Johnson lost the nomination to Warren G. Harding, to whom Edson at first gave only lukewarm support. Later, when she met Harding personally during the visit of a women's delegation to his home town of Marion, Ohio, she changed her mind. On problems involving women and labor, she found him to be "entirely sincere."

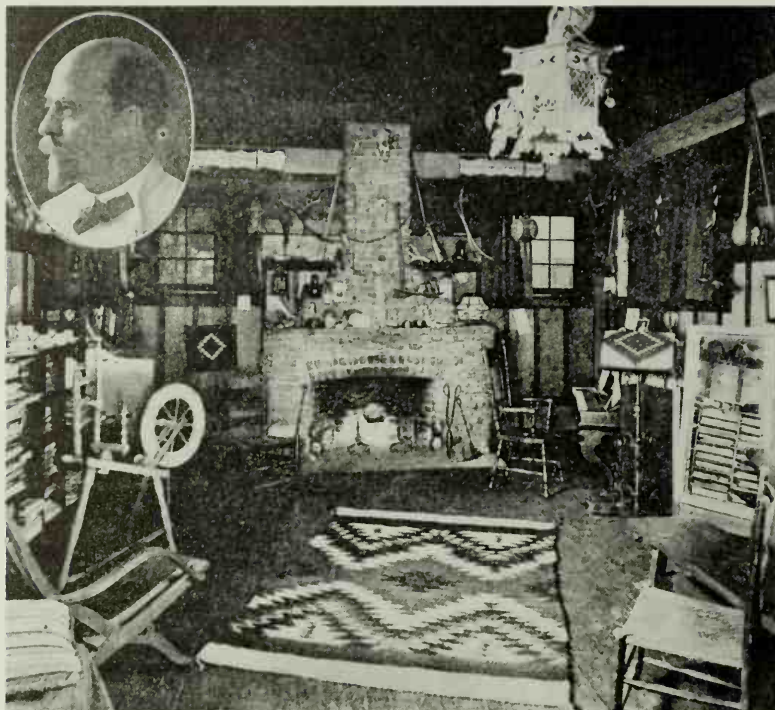
Edson enthusiastically hit the campaign trail for Harding, whom she called "gravy vest Harding" because he often had mishaps at the dinner table.⁴⁸ In this campaign she stopped in her home town of Kenton, Ohio, to make a speech on "Why She Is a Republican." She gave as reasons the Democrats' economic policies, and especially that party's stand on suffrage. "Of the thirty-six states which ratified the national suffrage amendment," she

Charles Farwell Edson and his studio as depicted in a promotional pamphlet advertising Edson as a "Musician, Student, Song Writer, Teacher, Entertainer."

The pamphlet text asserted that "Mr. Edson sings and teaches singing because music is the passion of his life, and he is confident that he has discovered new ways of developing the voice to the best advantage." As a performer, it continued, "It is

Charles Farwell Edson's versatility that makes him so popular in the musical field."

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announced, "twenty-nine were Republican dominated states and only seven were Democratic states." Harding's election, Edson told her audience, would mean "influence in getting the legislation and the measures we believe in." "Republicans Freed Women!" read the headline of the local newspaper.⁴⁹

Harding's election paid off for Edson in a most unexpected way. The new President selected her as one of four women to serve on the American advisory delegation to the International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, which convened in Washington, D.C., in 1921.⁵⁰ Her fellow delegates included such luminaries as John L. Lewis of the C.I.O., Samuel Gompers of the A.F. of L., General John J. Pershing, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Under-Secretary of State Henry B. Fletcher, Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover, and Louisiana Governor John M. Parker. The other female delegates were Anna Child Bird, chairman of the State Republican Club of Massachusetts and a member of the National League of

Women Voters; Eleanor Franklin Egan, a magazine writer specializing in Far Eastern affairs; and Alice A. Winter, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs of Minneapolis.⁵¹ The conference had been convened largely at the prodding of women's groups and religious and teachers' organizations. Edson had not been a prominent member of the peace movement, although other well-known Progressives were. Her selection grew out of her work during the war as a member of the National Board of Directors of the National League for Women's Service and chairman of the California State Council of National Defense.⁵² The appointment also reflected her loyalty to the Progressive-Republican cause and her leadership in the West.

At the conference Edson assumed the role of lobbyist, interpreting public opinion to those in attendance and communicating information about the conference to Californians. Although she and the other advisory members could not vote on the resolutions introduced by the delegates, she approved of and ac-

tively participated in committee deliberations, formulating recommendations, such as the abolition of chemical warfare and the limitation of naval armament. As a West Coast resident, Edson believed that the elimination of the British-Japanese pact was, after the Four Power Treaty, the next greatest accomplishment of the conference.⁵³ The conference was a milestone for women as well, for their representatives on the advisory delegation served "as citizens and had the same relation to the work as the men had. They did not form a separate committee as seemed to be believed by so many people."⁵⁴ But Edson felt that women did bring their special vision and experience to the conference. Women had more confidence and were "less fearful than men, they have more faith that permanent peace can be accomplished than men, more faith in humanity and in open diplomacy."⁵⁵

Edson used the conference as a forum for bringing her views on the minimum wage to an international audience. She saw the minimum wage as a fundamental ingredient

of a lasting peace. "A life-sustaining wage," she explained, "is more vital to world peace than battleships," for ultimately "disarmament of suspicion, cleansing minds of men and women who toil for a pittance, raising the hope and aims of the toiler, will do more to bring peace on earth and goodwill toward men than scrapping every battleship afloat!"⁵⁶

When the conference ended, Edson returned to California and settled into familiar and routine patterns. Her public career continued for another ten years, but at a pace often hard for her to maintain and frequently at great personal cost. In 1924 after an earlier surgery, a second tumor under her left arm appeared. Her activities were curtailed and she served only as a delegate at large for the 1924 Johnson presidential campaign.⁵⁷

Edson's family life had deteriorated as well as her health. Her lengthy jaunts throughout the state had kept her away from home so much that she rented an apartment in San Francisco around 1916 to be near IWC headquarters. The already withered relationship with Charles could no longer remain hidden behind a façade of domestic harmony. In 1925, the thirty-five-year marriage ended officially in divorce after nine years of increased periods of separation.⁵⁸ During the disarmament conference in 1922, the *Los Angeles Times* had noted that while Edson was off solving problems of worldwide importance, "sitting in with the great potent International Disarmament Conference nabobs of the world," Charles, "local basso, and bon-vivant literateur, is exhibiting his collec-

tion of autographed photographs at the Collector's Club."⁵⁹

Perhaps one reason for the failure of the marriage was that Charles, unlike his wife, was more visionary than practical. It was rumored that he had been inspired by the acoustics of a nearby canyon and initiated the creation of the famed Hollywood Bowl. According to his daughter, he heard his echo while singing in the Cahuenga Pass and persuaded others of the potential there for musical concerts. Though his role in establishing the Hollywood Bowl is unclear, Charles was in fact among the charter members of the initial but aborted attempt to develop it.⁶⁰ Charles also had distinct ideas about how to spread "culture" to the growing population of Los Angeles. He developed and conducted the temporarily successful and publicly supported Peoples' Orchestra as an alternative to the high prices of the Friday evening concerts of the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Hoping to make "high" culture affordable and convenient to the "masses," the orchestra survived several seasons. It folded about the time that Charles's pupils stopped coming to his studio on Toberman Street. Charles's story remains to be told. Although he failed to provide a steady income for his family, his creative contribution to his adopted city was real. He was clearly an innovator and a cultural iconoclast in Los Angeles during the Progressive era, but his wife's legacy currently overshadows his own.

Katherine Edson continued her work for the California Federation of Women's Clubs and League of Women Voters. During the Pan Pacific Women's Conferences held in Honolulu in 1928 and 1930, she served as chairman for the mainland

and leader of the discussions on labor. Speculation has it that she was among those considered for President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Department of Labor, but her own choice was Francis Perkins, whom Roosevelt finally named to the post. Health problems caused her to curtail and cancel many engagements in 1933 before she finally died in August of that year. A redwood grove in Humboldt Redwoods State Park was dedicated in her honor by the California League of Women Voters.

California's reforms in the first decades of the twentieth century owe much to the efforts of Edson and the few women like her. Her promotion of the ideals of progressive feminism, improved public health facilities, and the rights of women and workers helped bring about significant political and social change in California. Her contemporaries recognized and applauded her achievements. For historians, Edson's hopes, successes and disappointments reflect women's ambiguous position in the political sphere, where her work stands as a milestone in the movement to raise women from their subordinate position in the labor force and in public life. □

See notes beginning on page 155.

The author would like to thank professors Eric Monkkonen, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and, in particular, Norris Hundley for their assistance in the preparation of this article.

This article is the second in a series of six biographies of notable southern Californians made possible by a special grant from the Sidney Stern Memorial Trust.



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GENTLEMAN

by Timothy J. Haggerty

In order to enter polite society, a man of the mid-nineteenth century had to learn the etiquette of the upper class. The lessons of decorum were taught through both personal example and a written code of behavior. In either case, the rules of social interaction could help define a man's station and his relationships to those around him. As San Francisco developed from a small, mostly male outpost into a cosmopolitan city between 1849 and 1879, its code of etiquette was transformed from a route of social mobility to a means of social exclusion. By examining the discipline of the Army garrison, the fraternity of the volunteer fire company, and the camaraderie of the men's club, it is possible to sketch an evolving portrait of the San Francisco gentleman.

It may seem contrary to eliminate women from a study of codes of decorum, especially when much of the literature of etiquette during this period was written by women.¹ Many male authors in the genre followed Charles F. Beazley's example and wrote under feminine pseudonyms—in his case, "Daphne Dale."² Yet in the San Francisco institutions that were created by men for their exclusive use, rules of etiquette were upheld without the presence of women.

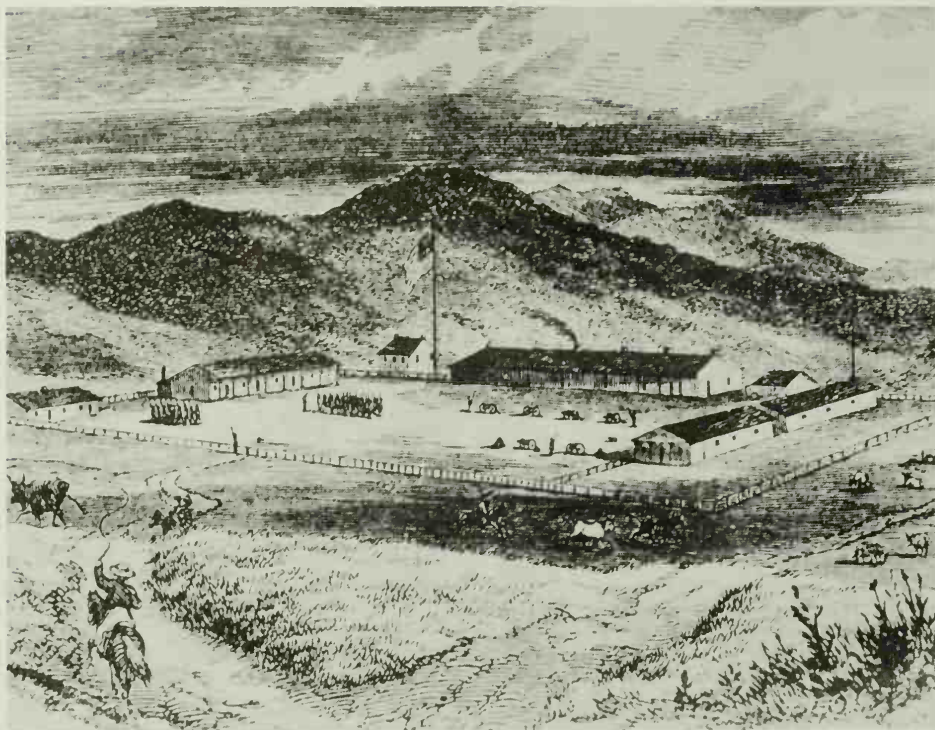
The rules of etiquette established the boundaries of good form, and for those who did not know them, a large literature was available. According to Mary Reed Bobbitt, their bibliographer, over 150 books on manners and instruction were published between 1850 and 1900; about half were reprinted at least once.³ Among the authors on etiquette

were Rose E. Cleveland, sister of the President; Florence Howe Hall, daughter of Julia Ward Howe the suffragist, and Sarah Hale, editor of *Godey's Ladies' Book*.⁴ The etiquette book was written for those wishing to better themselves. The author of *True Politeness: A Handbook of Etiquette for Gentlemen* counseled,

*To be comfortable in the world, it is not only necessary to adopt the style of dress and the manners of the circle in which you habitually move, but to be able to adapt both to a more elevated one. . . . Study, therefore, the dress habits, and manners of the best society.*⁵

The etiquette took the social exchange at exclusive gatherings as its domain and gave much attention to behavior at balls, the theater, and receptions as well as the practice of proper calls and the calling card itself.⁶

Etiquette writers recognized the



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In the early days of San Francisco the city's social elite formed around a nucleus of officers stationed at the Presidio—despite the wide expanse of sand dunes separating the fort from the city. This lithograph from Soule's *Annals of San Francisco* shows the Presidio in 1854.

difficulty of introducing notions of class into a democratic society, but they argued that etiquette was a way for men and women to become part of a more equal world. Mrs. H.O. Ward, author of *Sensible Etiquette of the Best Society*, believed that

*Good birth and good training are the privileges of a few . . . the habits and manners of a gentleman may be acquired by any man who possesses a desire to add the graces of high culture to . . . [his] acquisitions.*⁷

Rather than breeding snobbery, proper behavior encouraged a proper republican spirit. In America, etiquette had to be flexible, since immigrants brought different modes of deportment from varied backgrounds.

American etiquette tried to free itself from the rigid material distinctions of other societies. One writer

Timothy J. Haggerty has just completed a Master of City Planning degree at the University of California, Berkeley.

was offended by the English criticism that Americans appeared "grotesquely raw" and declared "we possess an undeniable right to ordain a social code of our own."⁸ Moreover, wealth and class were not always closely aligned. The author of *Gems of Deportment and Hints of Etiquette* recognized the discrepancies that arose in a young nation:

*It too often happens that the man who is a successful money maker is a boor . . . he has no knowledge of grammar or etiquette . . . he is only tolerated in the society he aspires to, never received.*⁹

Such contradictions were particularly true in San Francisco after the Gold Rush.

Before the rush, the standards of gentlemanly behavior in San Francisco had been established by the garrison of the United States Army, which became the arbiter of social custom. By demonstrating that men of dissimilar backgrounds could function under a common rule of propriety, the army's society set an

appropriate example for the city. Barry and Patten, two tavern owners who recounted the early days of the city in *Men and Memories of San Francisco*, remarked that

*There was, and is today, among all the remaining officers of the old regime, a distinguishing and unmistakable "ton," a something which made the "button" a passport to good society.*¹⁰

Officers quartered in the city risked more than moral disapprobation if their behavior fell below the mark of decency. Behavior unbecoming to a gentleman could subject the culprit to court-martial and cost him his military commission. Regulations for the army included the basic rudiments of politeness; the officers of San Francisco, like officers everywhere, were to treat their inferiors with kindness and justice. According to the *Regulations for the Army of the United States*:

Superiors of every grade are forbidden to injure those under them by tyrannical

or capricious conduct, or by abusive language.¹¹

The men within the army compound became a nucleus of San Francisco society. Captain J.L. Folsom, later a real estate speculator;¹² George Derby, also known as John Phoenix; and Dr. Hitchcock, an army surgeon, remained in the city to become part of its society.¹³

The urban elite established itself with the same rapidity that characterized the rest of San Francisco's development. By the early 1850s, a district of housing for the rich had been established;¹⁴ the exclusivity of Rincon Hill carried over into the social and business lives of the city as well. One migrant, Milton Hall, related the difficulty of finding work in a letter to his father. He stated that the small cliques of business and society made it impossible for an outsider to find employment and advised other members of his family to stay on the East Coast.¹⁵

Cliques developing in San Francisco were frequently based on a shared place of origin. Albert Benard de Russaill, a French journalist, recounted an early ball and the behavior of its participants in *Last Adventure*:

Three distinct quadrilles are always in progress simultaneously; French, American, and Mexican. . . .

The American quadrille is danced with Anglo-Saxon stiffness and impassivity, the Mexican with a southern languor and indolent grace; but the French quadrille is a centre of genuine gaiety and animation.¹⁶

At least an element of an upper echelon migrated within each ethnic community, and these scions maintained their social ties. Ward McAllister, one of the ten richest men in



The habits and manners of a gentleman may be acquired by any man who possesses a desire to add the graces of high culture to his acquisitions.

early San Francisco, was a Cutter from New York.¹⁷ Billy Botts, one of San Francisco's bon vivants, was the son of a Virginia governor, and among the Presidio's officers was Brigadier General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a descendant of New England aristocracy.¹⁸ These men, to the manner born, were models of deportment within the young city.

An early observer of San Francisco society believed that what backsliding did occur was the result of personal weakness rather than the ram-bunctious nature of an unsettled pioneer town. In her recollections of Gold Rush California, *A Frontier Lady*, Sarah Bayliss Royce recounted the road to ruin:

They did not intend, at first, to sacrifice their habits or morality, or their religious convictions. . . . [I]t was common to hear people who had started on this downward moral grade, deprecating the very acts they were committing . . . and concluding their weak lament by saying "But here in California we have to do such things."

Mrs. Royce cast a cool eye upon such excuses. As far as she was concerned, "Any newcomer in those days had, but to seek in the right way, good people, and he could find them."¹⁹

Emigrants transplanted the social customs of the East Coast to the Pacific. The New York custom of New Year's Day visits was established in San Francisco by the early 1850s,²⁰ and it was hoped that the custom of theater parties would soon take root.²¹ The theater became a public arena for the display of manners in the city. Ticket prices for a single performance ranged from one to sixteen dollars,²² and people in the better seats were expected to set an example. Barry and Patten related an incident at the American Theatre. One muggy evening a "pike" in the dress circle removed his coat. Pandemonium broke out:

The "Gods" who act as mentors for the dress circle just as surely as for the actors . . . detected this breach of etiquette . . . and there arose from the sky-critics such a yell that the words upon the stage were



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Volunteer fire companies provided a setting in which young men could prove their worth as leading citizens of San Francisco. They were not a channel for upward mobility, however, because membership was restricted to those who were able to invest substantially in uniforms and equipment. Here, members of Monumental Engine Company No. 6 pose in Brannan Place in 1856.

drowned . . . [once the offending jacket was replaced] . . . a yell of triumph . . . arose, the play proceeded, and the dignity of San Francisco dress circle etiquette was established.²³

As San Francisco grew and the need for civil services was felt, a new elite developed among the young men of the city who organized volunteer companies to fight the flames that engulfed the city on a seemingly regular schedule. Membership in an engine company was an honor. Martha Hitchcock, wife of the army surgeon, believed that "the best men in San Francisco belonged to these companies."²⁴ She went on: "there would have been no San Francisco without these . . . lawyers, doctors, bankers, merchants . . ."²⁵ or their dedication to service. A battalion chief in the later City Fire Department was even more emphatic:

On their roles membered the first citizens of the state. To be a fireman in the early

days was to be a gentleman and no club was more particular to enroll none but worthy gentlemen.²⁶

A certain amount of personal capital was essential in order to belong to a volunteer fire company. The firemen supplied their own uniforms, engines, and equipment and kept them in repair.²⁷ The fire companies were institutions of wealthy young men. Two in particular, the Bostonian Howard Engine Company and Company #12, were noted for their wealth; their nicknames were the "social three" and the "featherbed firemen" respectively.

Fire companies also institutionalized the developing cliques among men from different parts of the country. The Empire Company #1 and the Knickerbocker #5 were expatriates from New York.²⁸ Crescent #10 men were from New Orleans,²⁹ and both French and German immigrants had their own companies.³⁰ By proffering opportunities for physical activity and heroic

status, the volunteer fire companies provided the rising young men of the city with an adventuresome means to escape the routines of professional life.

By taking part in heroic actions and assuming a paramilitary discipline, the volunteer firemen of San Francisco acquired the mantle of chivalry that had belonged to the officer of the army. When their alarms sounded, the firemen had society's approval to drop their appointments and answer the call. The prestige of being a fireman, combined with the gratitude of the city, allowed the firemen to avoid some of the growing burden of etiquette and decorum that constrained other men.

As the army garrison had, the fire companies contributed their own social functions to the growing numbers of parties, theatricals, and receptions. A girl who became the belle of a company, like Lillie Hitchcock Coit,³¹ was a reigning princess of society. The stamp of approval in

the city's society was a male privilege, and the key to success for a woman lay in the social positions of the men with whom she associated.

Several events and circumstances led to the dissolution of the volunteer fire companies. By 1865 the city had become too large for the volunteers to serve adequately. Moreover, the intercompany rivalries that had developed over the course of fifteen years had intensified until they were counterproductive. Their divisiveness exacerbated by regional loyalties, the firemen had taken to fighting the Civil War among themselves. One such brawl, between the Knickerbocker #5 and Engine Co. #6, a Southern company, caused such a furor that the city considered methods to phase the volunteer fire companies out of operation. The San Francisco Bulletin stated that

... the affair was the most outrageous of the kind that ever occurred in this city, and every man who participated in it should be arrested and severely punished. It is about time that the rowdy element of the fire company should be subjugated, and learned that our citizens will not tolerate such outrageous conduct.

These disgraceful proceedings furnish the strongest argument that could be adduced for a paid fire department.³²

The young men of society had stretched the limits of bad form to the breaking point. These were men of wealth; consequently, the behavior that they exhibited reflected badly upon all of the upper class. It was essential that behavior of this sort be severely reprimanded. By 1865, etiquette was no longer a luxury that could be cast off when desired; it was an essential tool in maintaining the upper class's respected position within society. The



Any man who may conduct himself in a manner unbefitting a gentleman as calculated to disturb the harmony or impair the prosperity of the club may be expelled.

paid fire department started operation in 1866.

Meanwhile, the first generation of argonauts had already established quieter places than a bar or a fire company for social interaction. The Pacific Club, founded in 1852,³³ was the earliest of the men's clubs in a fraternal sys-

tem that fulfilled a social need for what one writer nicknamed "the city of bachelors."³⁴ Men joined these clubs to maintain a social circle in a growing city. Within the clubhouses, a setting developed for the recreation of maturing, responsible citizens.

Each club was founded for a different purpose. The Olympic Club was an athletically minded organization, whereas the German Verein and Jewish Concordia embraced different ethnic groups.³⁵ The Union Club was founded as a money-making venture; the Pacific Club, with which it would later merge,³⁶ was the male bastion of the city's social and economic elite. The Bohemian Club, perhaps the most famous of San Francisco's men's societies, was founded as a gathering place for writers, artists, and poets.³⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century there would be over twenty men's clubs within or near the city, each with its own niche in San Francisco society.³⁸

The clubs demanded propriety of their members. The men who previously drank to excess, swore, and missed their weddings to attend fires were now instructed by their clubs in proper decorum. The guide books, by-laws, and examples of their peers guided men into good form.

The House Rules of the Olympic Club gave explicit instruction for conduct pertaining to servile relations,³⁹ while the By-Laws of the Bohemian Club were punitive:

Any man who may conduct himself in a manner unbefitting a gentleman, . . . as calculated to disturb the harmony or impair the prosperity of the club, may be . . . expelled.⁴⁰

The rules for club conduct were spelled out by other etiquette writers



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Members of the Bohemian Club in 1872. The club's twenty-four charter members, the majority of them journalists, agreed to call themselves "Bohemians" only after a fierce debate over the negative images of poverty and irresponsibility conjured up by the word. Yet the original charter excluded wealthy businessmen, and when they began to seek membership another debate ensued. Club members soon realized that there were definite advantages to association with men who could pay their dues regularly and broadened the definition of "Bohemian" to include free spirits who were successful in business as well as art.

as well. In a place that "forms a little world in itself,"⁴¹ it was best to be agreeable, to avoid talking about the ladies, and to be extremely careful not to introduce men of ill repute into the club's selective sphere. Profanity was frowned upon immediately. At one of the High Jinks, a frequent form of entertainment centering upon a literary figure at the Bohemian Club, a member

*... read what was purported to be a poem by Byron which was, to put it mildly, somewhat indecorous. ... The president got up and protested. He spoke earnestly ... declaring that ... such ribaldry and vulgarity was not wit, and that as one gentleman ... he felt no call to sit there quietly and listen to it.*⁴²

He then tendered his resignation.

Rudyard Kipling, traveling through San Francisco, remarked that while the Bohemian Club "has blossomed into the most unrepublican luxury,"⁴³ it also fostered an air of professionalism among its members and set a standard other than wealth by which a man could be judged.

According to Kipling,

*I was speaking to a newspaperman about seeing the proprietor of his journal. . . . "See him! Great Scott! No! If he happens to appear . . . I have to associate with him; but, thank heaven, outside of that, I move in circles into which he cannot come."*⁴⁴

Even in their leather armchairs, however, the men of San Francisco remembered their less decorous beginnings with pride. The pretensions and pomposity of gentlemanly society were occasionally held up to light by the very people who created them. At the Bohemian Club, the High Jinks had a declassé opposite in the Low Jinks, a glorified excuse for drinking.⁴⁵ Another great club of San Francisco had its pomposities pricked as well. Amelia Ransome Neville related in her memoirs, *The Fantastic City*, how Cutter McAllister

... delighted to tell of an incident at the Pacific Club. . . . One evening, when dignified members were grouped in the lounge, a miner in blue shirt and high boots entered and

looked about, slightly bewildered. One of the servants went over to him and told him he had strayed into a private club.

"A private club, eh?" he answered. "Well, this used to be Steve Whipple's place and I see the same old crowd around."⁴⁶



y the late 1870s the city had grown past the size of personal familiarity. A man's behavior, his wealth and the power of his associations still allowed him an entrance into proper society, but that society had grown beyond the point where even its most powerful members could know all of the upper class.

The publication of *The Elite Guide for San Francisco and Oakland* in 1879 was a response to the growing desire for codification among the urban elite. The difficulty in determining what and who was proper was at least a partial reason for its existence. The author remarked that *The Bostonian* can go back with his

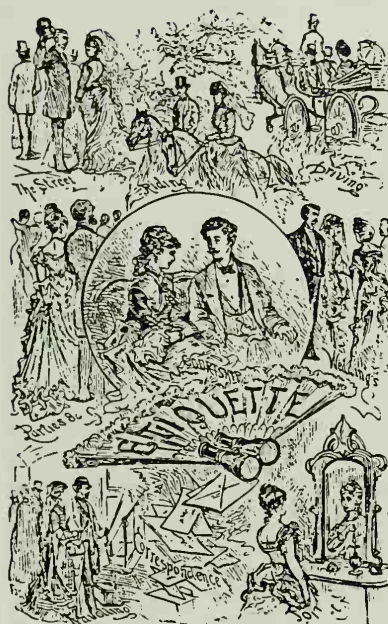
lineage to the ragged refugees who landed at Plymouth Rock; the New Yorker to . . . his Dutch market garden . . . but where in the name of reason, and research, is the fountainhead of California refinement and respectability?⁴⁷

The growth of the city had divided the landscapes of the rich into separate districts of wealth and power. Rincon Hill had lost its cachet, and the wealthy of the city had moved towards North Beach and were in the process of moving up the crest of Nob Hill.⁴⁸ With the arrival of the railroad, and the establishment of a state university in Berkeley, members of society were moving into suburban developments. These movements accentuated the demand for a central social reference guide. By demarcating the geographical, social, and behavioral limits of polite society, the directory identified San Francisco society and the men who were part of it. Defining the urban elite would become an exact science, with 6,000 on the role.

The *Elite Guide* for San Francisco was part of a larger national trend. The *Blue Book*, a standardized social register, was already popular in the cities of the Eastern seaboard. The first San Francisco *Blue Book*, published in 1888, held that it had

. . . always been deemed an essential adjunct to the literature of every prominent family in the leading Eastern cities and European Capitals; and its absence here in the past has been noticeable.⁴⁹

Significant differences between the *Blue Book* and the *Elite Guide* reveal the movement of an insecure society toward a sense of maturity. Three sections, "San Francisco Society" (a history), "Clubs and Club Life," and "Points of Etiquette"⁵⁰ were absent



The Bostonian can go back to the refugees at Plymouth Rock, but where in the name of reason, and research, is the fountainhead of California's refinement and sensibility?

in the later volume. At the end of the 1870s, the three sections had helped to explain the underpinnings of what made the ladies and gentlemen of San Francisco part of society. A decade of rigid definition rendered these fine distinctions unnecessary.

The directory's lists of society were a compilation of membership

lists for men's associations. The calling lists of army and navy officers, the club lists, and the personnel of the bar and press were exclusively male domains. Women were listed under reception days and on the guest lists of the better hotels, but they seldom merited their own entries.

Gertrude Atherton, in *My San Francisco*, relates a last episode of the mingling between uncouth wealth and old family arrogance. In one of the new mansions atop Nob Hill, the host of a gala finally spoke to his guests, the old guard of the city:

. . . as the grandfather clock in the hall loudly proclaimed the hour as one, the host stood up and shouted, ". . . Ladies and gentlemen, I just want to tell you that this is the proudest night of my life. Just thinking that I am entertaining the grand aristocracy . . . sends hot chills up and down my spine . . . I was a long time making my pile when our home was a shack. . . . Now here I am—the proudest man who ever lived . . . I'm going to bed, but you can stay here all night if you like. And there is plenty more champagne for all. Good night."⁵¹

The ladies and gentlemen of San Francisco shuddered and left, but the more forgiving young people danced until dawn. The generation that consciously strove for propriety had achieved its goal. The frontier parvenu was now a source of embarrassment. In the thirty years between 1849 and 1879, the elite institutions of male fraternity and the lessons of etiquette had created a San Francisco gentleman. □

See notes beginning on p. 155.

Special thanks to Erica Atkin, Helen Schwartz, and Camille Gerstel for help in preparing this article.

by James Farr

NOT EXACTLY

James Alexander McDougall in the United States Senate

Seduced once again by the wily Bacchus, Senator McDougall awoke from an alcoholic odyssey to find himself in a small hamlet outside the nation's capital. On an impulse, the senator decided to catch a train that passed through a nearby town. Unable to hire a carriage to take him to the depot, McDougall rented a hearse from the local undertaker and then stretched out in padded comfort while awaiting the driver. In the course of the journey, the coachman, seeing no need for haste, stopped to refresh himself at a roadside tavern. Upon the driver's return, McDougall cried out "Help! Help!" The Senator then threw open the hearse doors, turned to the startled coachman and said: "Driver, the corpse is dry, too. Pass the whisky this way." Thus fortified, driver and "corpse" pressed boldly on.¹

James Alexander McDougall represented California in the United States Senate during the upheaval of the Civil War. He came to Congress as a War Democrat, charged by his constituents to press the Union fight against the Confederate secession. The administration of Ab-

raham Lincoln, intent on maintaining a politically united front against the seceded states, wooed loyal Democrats with important influence in Washington. McDougall, both eloquent and intelligent, had an unusual opportunity to forge a senatorial career of great significance. Unfortunately, he failed badly. As his impromptu ride in the hearse suggests, Senator McDougall fought a losing battle with alcoholism, and his staunch defense of the rights of states left the California solon in political isolation between angry zones of blue and gray. The Washington *National Intelligencer* offered this assessment of his career: "Few men have enjoyed so high a reputation for brilliant acquirements, and few have so wasted their opportunities as did Senator McDougall."²

Born in Albany County in upstate New York in 1817, McDougall soon demonstrated the quickness of mind and the ambition that promised success in any endeavor. As a teenager, he aided in the survey of one of the nation's first railroads and then turned to "reading law," winning admittance to the New York Bar before his twentieth birthday.³ In 1838, the young New Yorker abandoned his promising future in the Empire State and set out to seek his fortune in the new lands of the West. He finally settled in Jacksonville, Illinois, where his dapper appearance, legal skills, and natural eloquence enabled the newcomer to establish a thriving legal practice. He married the daughter of one of Jacksonville's leading lawyers and joined the Democratic Party.

McDougall rose quickly in Illinois Democratic politics. The young lawyer briefly flirted with the Democrats' radical LocoFoco faction before

he moved to the political center, where he would remain throughout his career.⁴ In January, 1843, a joint session of the Illinois legislature elected the twenty-five-year-old McDougall the state's attorney general.⁵ Shortly thereafter, the "general," as McDougall would hereafter be known, made an unsuccessful run for a congressional seat in a Whig-dominated district.⁶ While carrying out his responsibilities as attorney general, he developed a working relationship with Abraham Lincoln and close ties with Stephan A. Douglas and Edward Baker. The general and Baker began a long friendship, and Douglas became a mentor to McDougall.⁷ In December, 1844, McDougall won unanimous reelection as attorney general and the following year participated in negotiations between the state's embattled Mormon community and its hostile neighbors. In return for a fair price for their homes and farms, the Mormons agreed to abandon their community at Nauvoo and strike out for the forbidding Salt Lake Valley in the Utah territory.⁸

In 1846, General McDougall moved to Chicago, where he played an active part in the conservative Hunker faction of Democratic politics.⁹ Hunkers opposed the anti-slavery position of the Democrats' Barnburner faction and were more receptive to expansionist financial interests. Though he claimed no affinity for slavery, McDougall questioned the government's constitutional authority to restrict or abolish the institution. This political ground on which the general stood slowly eroded as the LocoFoco/Barnburner factions dropped out for the anti-slavery Free Soil and, later, Republican parties, and the southern Demo-

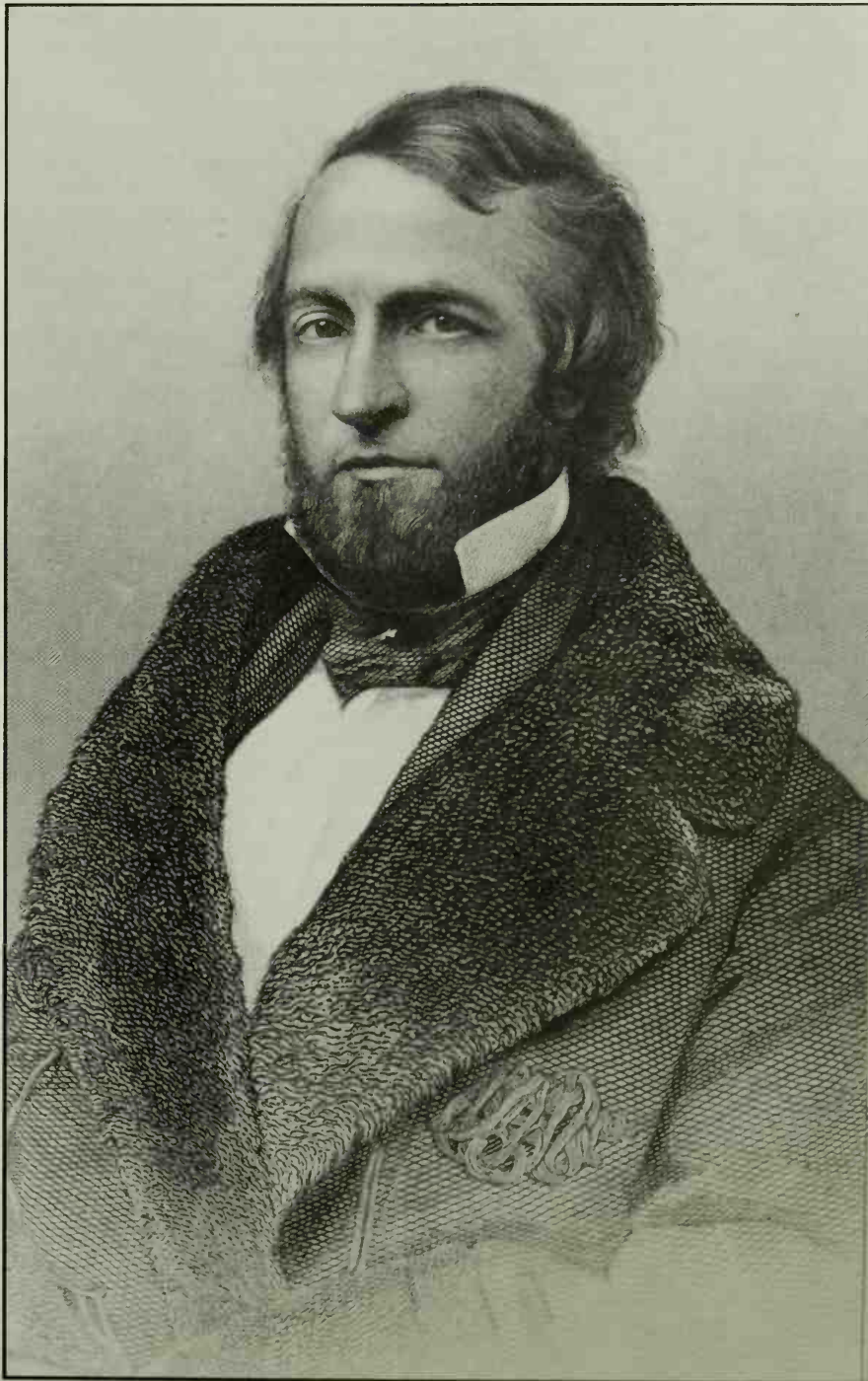
A HERO

crats assumed a defiant, pro-secessionist posture. As both the political left and right wings of the Democratic Party slowly washed away, McDougall eventually found himself on a political island shared by only a few.

For all of McDougall's success in Illinois, contentment eluded him. Something drew him westward, just as the lure of the frontier had drawn him to Illinois. Perhaps it was the discovery of gold in California, or a desire to explore the conquered lands of the Southwest wrested from Mexico. Whatever his motivation, McDougall organized an expedition and struck out for the Gila Valley in what is now Arizona. There are various accounts of this adventure, the most fanciful describing McDougall, separated from his companions and lost in the high Sierra, clothed in rags and skins, and on the verge of starvation, at last stumbling down into California's Central Valley. Whatever the fate of the expedition, McDougall arrived in San Francisco by February, 1850.¹⁰

The city of St. Francis sheltered 30,000 adventurous spirits by the time McDougall arrived. The golden spell of California entranced all those who ventured through the Golden Gate, and sea commerce to San Francisco became a one-way affair. The crews of arriving ships slipped ashore before their vessels' anchors had settled in the mud, leaving the bay a denuded forest of tall-masted ghost ships. But not everyone tried to pry fortunes from California's good earth. Many of San Francisco's shrewdest prospectors found their bonanzas in the pockets of the horde of fortune seekers. Still

James Alexander McDougall



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others cared less about finding a fortune than just living and working in the exhilarating atmosphere of the nation's most exciting city. These people tended to the more mundane matters of organizing and controlling the future of what promised to be the first metropolis on the Pacific Coast.

McDougall reestablished his law practice in San Francisco and quickly became a force in Democratic politics. According to one account, McDougall's talent and legal skill placed him at the head of the California Bar within a year of his arrival.¹¹ In September, 1850, the general received the nomination of the Democratic Party in San Francisco to serve as the state's attorney general. As Democrats greatly outnumbered Whigs in California, McDougall had little trouble defeating his opponent in the October election and became California's second attorney general.¹² McDougall, however, stalked a larger prize, and resigned his position after serving just over a year.

In July, 1852, California Democrats met in Benicia, then the state capital, and nominated General McDougall for the southern congressional district and Milton S. Latham for the northern district. The Democrats and Whigs made the 1852 campaign a spirited affair, and McDougall and his Whig opponent stumped the southern district together, debating their respective party platforms. Though both Whigs and Democrats favored building a transcontinental railroad, McDougall

managed to commandeer the issue and vowed to fight for its construction. Both parties also favored the distribution of land to settlers, a popular position among Californians. The Whigs, however, favored the importation of Chinese labor, which Democrats and a majority of Californians opposed. On election day the Democrats swept the state as well as the nation, and McDougall and Latham journeyed to Washington as United States congressmen.¹³

McDougall spent his one term in the House of Representatives as the leading proponent of a transcontinental railroad. Just as the Californian was about to put a construction proposal before the House, however, his friend and mentor from Illinois, Stephan A. Douglas, asked him to relinquish the railroad bill's position on the House agenda in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.¹⁴ Senator William M. Gwin of California had planned on a favorable House vote on the railroad measure to goad his Senate colleagues into similar support, and he demanded that McDougall hold fast to the order of debate. Unwilling to offend Douglas and his own House colleagues who were anxious to discuss the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Bill, McDougall agreed to the postponement and thereby earned the enmity of Senator Gwin, one of the most powerful men in California politics.

California Democrats in the 1850s battled with the same factionalism that divided their party throughout the nation. Dr. William Gwin, physician and United States senator, led

the conservative, pro-South wing of the Democratic Party, called the Chivalry faction. David C. Broderick, Gwin's liberal rival in the party, had developed his formidable political skills in the rough-and-tumble of New York's Tammany Hall.¹⁵ Yet for all their influence, neither Gwin nor Broderick could maintain control of the state's Democratic machinery. The balance of power lay with McDougall and other ambitious politicians who held the decisive middle ground.

The most coveted prize in California politics was a seat in the United States Senate, and all the Democratic hopefuls laid their plans to challenge Dr. Gwin long before his term expired in April, 1855. Broderick mounted the most serious challenge. United States senators were chosen by state legislatures until 1913, and in 1854 Broderick controlled the California Assembly. Fearful of losing his dominant position in the Assembly before the expiration of Gwin's term, Broderick proposed calling a joint convention of the Assembly and Senate to select Gwin's replacement a year early. McDougall, who wanted the Senate seat for himself, readily joined a coalition to frustrate Broderick's design.

Broderick's plan hinged on a key vote in the Senate calling for a joint convention. So many deals were made and so much money changed hands, that no one could be sure of the outcome of the Senate vote. Finally, Broderick eked out a narrow victory on the strength of a defection from Whig ranks by Jacob Grewell of Santa Clara County, whose allegiance Broderick purchased with a sackful of gold. But the triumph proved ephemeral, for that evening the anti-Broderick forces struck

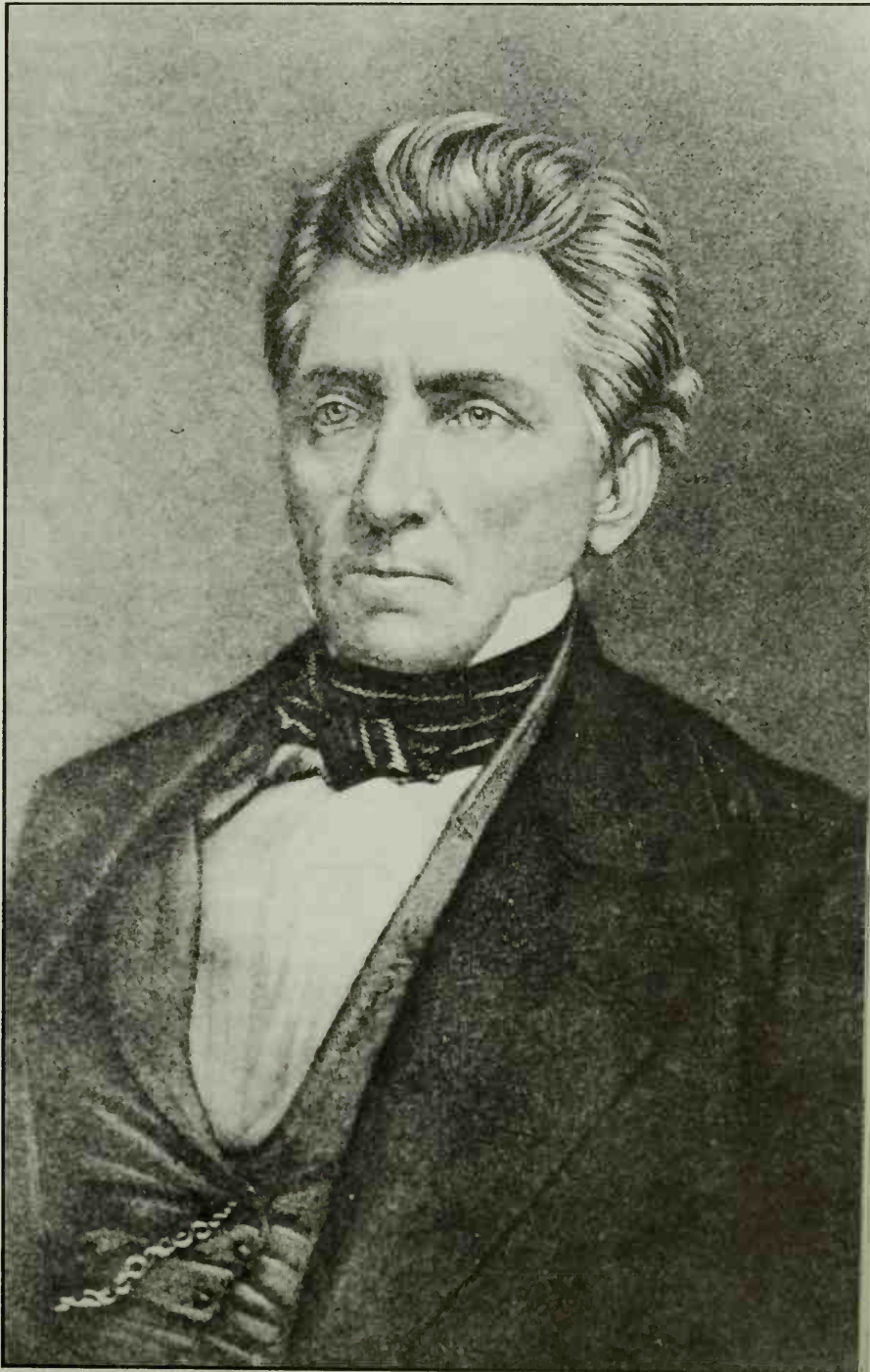
James Farr teaches history at San Jose State University.

back. Captain Dan Aldrich, in the service of McDougall supporters, stole into Broderick's headquarters and kidnapped the pliable Mr. Grewell at gunpoint. By the time he was returned to the camp of his former allies the wayward senator had realized his error. The next day Grewell recanted, and Broderick's early election scheme came crashing down. McDougall still had a chance to take Gwin's Senate seat.¹⁶

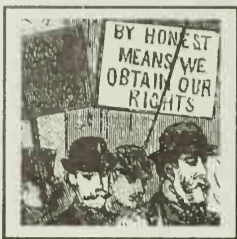
The next session of the legislature revealed the intractable nature of the state's political divisions. In January, 1855, the legislature failed to select a United States senator. Dr. Gwin had the greatest strength but lacked the votes for a majority. McDougall still sought the solon's chair and now joined forces with Broderick to frustrate Gwin's reelection. But no compromises were struck and no political deals were made. When Gwin's term expired, no successor had been named, and California had but one senator in Washington.¹⁷ Soon after this political stalemate, Broderick used a clever ruse to gain control of the state's Democratic machinery and was at last poised to seize the Senate seat when California politics turned upside down.

There is a touch of irony in the manipulations and stratagems of the senatorial candidates for, as they busied themselves with internecine conflict, a new political force struck California like a flash flood. The American Party, or "Know-Nothings," overwhelmed all political opposition in the elections of 1855, capturing the state legislature and sweeping its candidates into all major state offices, including the governorship. Developed in the eastern states as a

William M. Gwin



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nativist, anti-Catholic organization, the American Party drew converts from the fading Whig party and fed on California's fear of foreign immigrants. The new party promised to end the pervasive corruption and the inept management of the state government and to hold foreigners at bay. Composed of discarded politicians, office-seekers, the inexperienced, and the incompetent, the Know-Nothings could neither fulfill their campaign promises nor sustain the political blitzkrieg of 1855–56. Californians returned the Democrats to power in 1857.¹⁸

McDougall held politics in abeyance during California's fling with the Know-Nothings, perhaps for personal reasons. On April 26, 1855, James Alexander McDougall, Jr., died at the age of two.¹⁹ The death of his only son grievously wounded the general and no doubt contributed to his losing battle against alcoholism, a disease that would increasingly cloud his career. While McDougall wrestled with his grief and the Democrats made plans to combat the upstart Know-Nothings, San Franciscans turned their attention to a mounting crisis.

San Francisco in the 1850s had a boomtown exuberance and recklessness but also endured pervasive corruption and lawlessness. In 1851, the first Vigilance Committee rose up to crush the city's underworld by arresting, trying, and executing those believed to be engaging in criminal activities. Justified or not, the Vigilantes put the fear of sudden death into many of the city's outlaws, and for several years the community appeared to have the problem under control. By 1855, however, law and order had deteriorated to the point where private citizens were talking

of forming a new Vigilance Committee and purging the city of criminals. General McDougall figured prominently in one particularly infamous case that was to push the city of San Francisco to the flashpoint.

On November 19, 1855, gambler Charles Cora shot and killed U.S. Marshall William Richardson. Angered citizens demanded Cora's immediate execution, but the gambler's resourceful wife, Belle Cora, came to his aid. Madame of one of the city's most notorious whorehouses, Belle Cora had enough money to secure the best legal talent available. To the gambler's defense came McDougall and Edward Baker, his friend and the future senator from Oregon, as well as several other prominent attorneys. Cora won the battle but lost the war. The jury could not agree on Cora's guilt, and he was bound over for retrial. Outrage over the hung jury spread through the city. A new Vigilance Committee arose, seized the gambler from his jail cell, and hanged him.²⁰

The dislocations caused by urban violence and the unexpected, if short-lived, triumph of the American Party did nothing to diminish the political ambitions of the state's leading Democrats. In 1857, though, Gwin and Broderick had a unique opportunity to reconcile their long-standing conflict when Senator John Weller's Senate seat became available. As the Know-Nothings had failed to fill the vacant seat of Dr. Gwin, the state legislature now had two United States senators to select and could divide the seats between the competing factions.²¹ McDougall lost the leverage of his swing role and could do nothing to

prevent the arrangement. Milton S. Latham, another fast-rising politician, made a determined but unsuccessful effort to frustrate the bargain. The legislature returned Gwin to his former office and gave Broderick his coveted seat in the United States Senate.²²

Fate soon gave McDougall another opportunity to reach the Senate. In 1859, Senator Broderick had the misfortune to engage Judge David Terry in a duel, and his opportunistic yet brilliant career ended abruptly at the end of the judge's smoking pistol. California again had a vacant Senate seat. The state legislature convened in January, 1860, to elect a replacement and once again Democrats scrambled for position. According to visiting New Englander Richard Henry Dana, a reformer of maritime practices and a founder of the Free Soil Party, McDougall was the "best man among the Senatorial candidates." But Dana observed that the general's penchant for strong drink "is now critical."²³ Again McDougall failed to win a place in the Senate. Milton Latham, who just five days earlier had been inaugurated as governor of California, outmaneuvered and outtraded his opposition to fill the remainder of Broderick's term.²⁴

In 1860, the national Democratic Party finally splintered under the impact of regional pressures. The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott decision all contributed to Democratic disharmony. After an abortive Democratic National Convention in Charleston, each faction nominated its own candidate for president. The northern Democrats chose Stephan A. Douglas as their standard bearer, while southern fire-eaters nominated John C. Breckinridge.²⁵ California Democrats mirrored the national di-

vision with senators Gwin and Latham supporting the extreme states-rights position of Breckinridge while McDougall and Governor J.G. Downey stumped for Douglas.²⁶ On election day California went the way of the nation. By dividing their vote, Democrats handed the presidency to Abraham Lincoln and the nascent Republican Party. For the nation the Republican victory would mean civil war. For McDougall the tragic polarization opened the way to the United States Senate.

On March 9, 1861, the California state legislature met in joint session to select a replacement for the Senate seat of Dr. Gwin whose second term, begun in 1855 but not filled by the good doctor until 1857, had come to an end. The spectre of war now haunted the legislature as seven southern states had bolted from the Union after Lincoln's election, joining forces as the Confederate States of America. The major candidates for Gwin's seat spanned the political spectrum, with Breckinridge supporter John Well, Douglas faction member McDougall, and Republican T.J. Phelps all vying for the honor. McDougall, holding the middle ground between the secessionist Democrats and the Republicans, quickly gained support in the early balloting and victory appeared certain.²⁷ Desperate, the Breckinridge and anti-McDougall Democrats combined their votes behind the compromise candidacy of Congressman John Nugent, who opposed restrictions on slavery's expansion.²⁸ When the coalition failed to win a majority of votes, Republican nominee Phelps addressed the convention. The interest of the Republican Party and the nation, he explained, would best be served by

a Union man in the Senate. Phelps then withdrew his candidacy and cast his vote for General McDougall. More Republicans crossed over and "amidst the wildest and most turbulent scenes ever witnessed in a California legislature" McDougall won his long-sought Senate seat.²⁹ The senator-elect received the news with "perfect coolness."³⁰

With the applause still ringing in his ears, the forty-three-year-old McDougall left boisterous San Francisco for the nation's war-threatened capital. The general went to Washington as a War Democrat, willing to support the use of force to maintain the bonds of the Union. McDougall joined with the North because he felt the Union to be inviolate, and not because he held any anti-slavery sentiments. A friend explained the general's beliefs to be "in consonance with those entertained by the masses of the people of both sections of the Union."³¹ But McDougall had come to Washington too late. After the destruction in April of Fort Sumter, desire for national "consonance" gave way to partisan fervor.

Washington was alive with intrigue and war preparations when McDougall arrived from California. Lincoln's call for a special session of Congress in July added to the air of urgency and purpose. The failure of all attempts at compromise to avoid bloodshed pressured the president to commit Union forces for a showdown with the Confederates. Many in the northern states believed that a strong show of force would quickly bring the South to heel.³² That illusion was one of the first casualties of the war.

John G. Downey



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The opposing armies took their positions at Bull Run creek on July 21, 1861. Union General Irvin McDowell led 30,000 callow troops against 34,000 Rebels. Festive groups of Washington's elite, including Senators McDougall, Zachary Chandler, and Benjamin Wade, turned out for the spectacle, many enjoying picnic provisions on the hills above the battlefield.³³ Initially the conflict favored McDowell's forces, and throughout most of the day northern observers felt victory was at hand. But then somewhere out on the battlefield the mood changed. A few Union men panicked and then fear washed over the men from Massachusetts and Michigan and New York and swept them along. First individually and then a mob without order and deathly afraid, soldiers fled for their lives and the Army of the Potomac dissolved. McDougall and others in the company of Washington notables joined the flight and dashed the twenty-five miles back to the capital.

Congress responded to the debacle at Bull Run by approving a larger army and expanding the powers of the presidency. Acknowledging the extraordinary demands on the nation in a time of civil war, Congress sanctioned such dubious government practices as the suspension of *habeas corpus* and the arrest of civilians by the military. McDougall willingly joined in these war measures, leading some observers to mistake the general for a firm supporter of the administration. The Californian, however, soon made it clear that his cooperation extended only to matters of the war's prosecution. Restructuring southern institutions, particularly those proposals aimed at the elimination of slavery, was

"foreign business" to McDougall.³⁴ When Lincoln attempted to enlist the senator's endorsement of a bill to end the war by compensating slave owners for the loss of their slave property, McDougall opposed the measure as exceeding the government's constitutional authority.³⁵ The bill, passed by Congress but which proved ineffective, served notice that McDougall would resist initiatives not directly related to the war effort.

By the end of 1861, Radical Republicans were dissatisfied with the administration's war plans and, in particular, with Lincoln's use of Democrats in the military command and in other positions of responsibility. Lincoln, attempting to hold the support of northern Democrats and the slave states loyal to the Union, resisted their attempts to raise the banner of moral crusade. For their part, the Radicals sought the means to put pressure on the President and found an opportunity with the death of senator-turned-soldier Edward D. Baker, McDougall's friend from Illinois and California and a Radical favorite.³⁶ Shot down while leading an ill-advised charge into an entrenched Confederate position, Baker provided Radicals with a pretext to establish a watchdog committee. With their House colleagues, Radical senators formed the Joint Committee for the Investigation of the Conduct of the War. McDougall, grieving over the death of his friend Baker, became the only Senate Democrat to vote in favor of the committee, though he did so with reservations.³⁷ The general soon regretted his approval.

At the stroke of midnight on February 5, 1862, agents of the federal government snatched General

Charles P. Stone from his Washington residence and placed him in solitary confinement. The committee had investigated General Stone, superior officer to Senator Baker at Ball's Bluff, and suspected him of treason. Rumors and gossip tied the general and his southern wife to the Confederate cause, and Radical Republicans harbored suspicions that Stone deliberately sent Baker to his death in a suicidal charge. With no hard evidence and without allowing the general his legal right to a hearing, the committee and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton arranged Stone's seizure. Stone's distraught family, confronting a stone wall of official denials and indifference, turned to Senator McDougall for assistance.

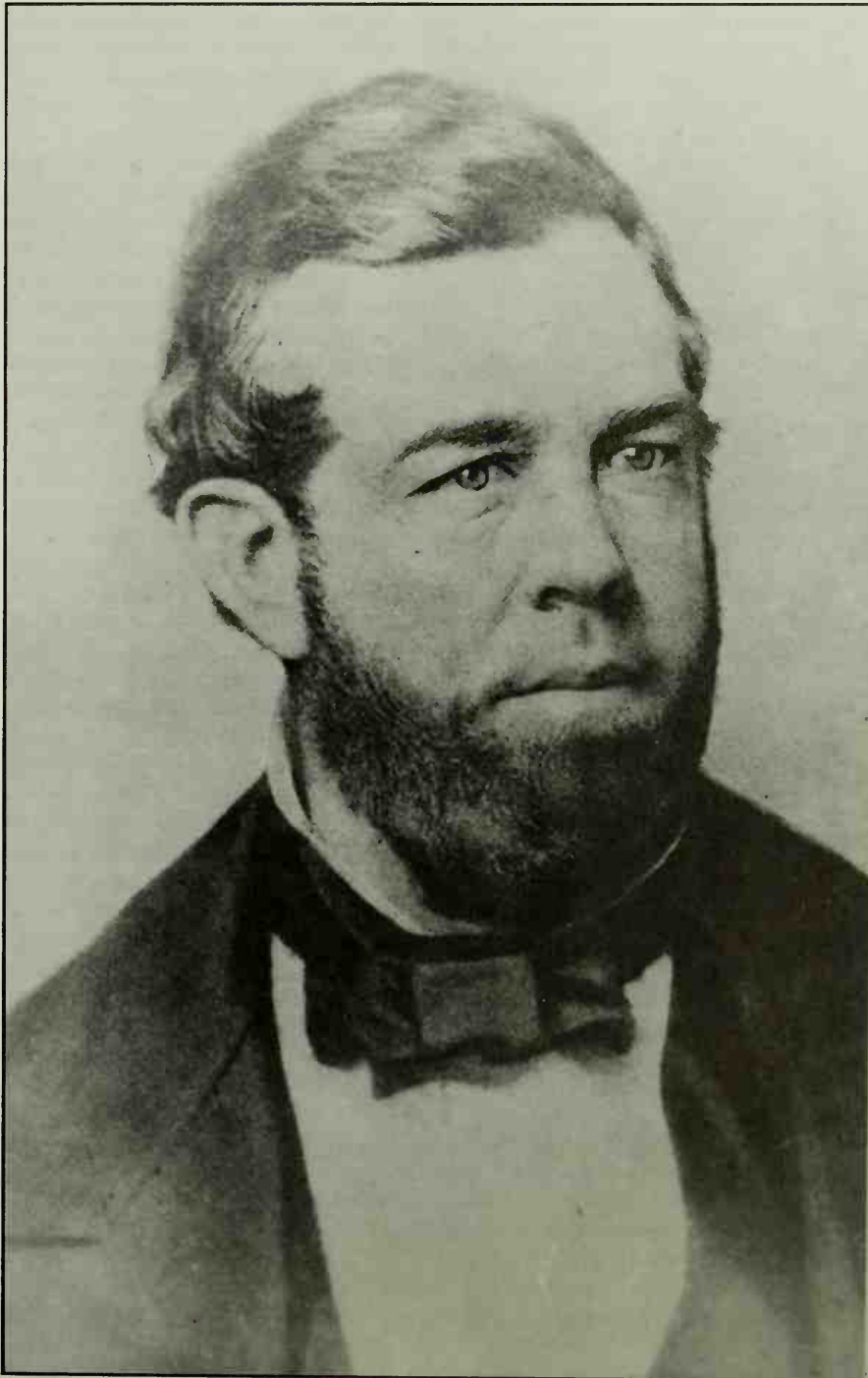
McDougall joined the fray with élan. He addressed the Senate about Stone's abduction, berating Secretary of War Stanton and by implication, the Conduct of War Committee. Ben Wade, a formidable adversary and a leader of the Radicals, rose to the committee's defense and accused McDougall of being a "sympathizer" to traitors.³⁸ McDougall responded with equal venom and compared the committee to the Spanish Inquisition. McDougall explained that General Stone's innocence or guilt was not the issue. "I am no man's advocate," McDougall protested. "If General Stone . . . is guilty of any crime, let him be tried, condemned and punished."³⁹ But the government and the military were legally bound to call the accused man before a court martial. The senator's appeals went unheeded. General Stone was finally released after a confinement of 189 days. No charges were ever brought against him and he was later exonerated by the Conduct of War Committee. General Stone endured

malicious rumors until he resigned his commission in 1864. McDougall's confrontation with his Senate colleagues was not an isolated incident but rather characteristic of his career. Never hesitant to speak in opposition to the majority, McDougall engaged in a years-long controversy over French intervention in Mexico.

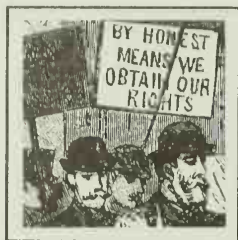
In July, 1861, the Mexican government of Benito Juarez suspended service payments on all foreign debt. French Emperor Louis Napoleon, with visions of founding a New World empire, used Mexico's financial plight as justification to order French troops to seize control of the Mexican republic. Badly divided and exhausted from internal warfare, Mexico could do little to repel the invaders, and in June, 1863, the French occupied Mexico City. Napoleon established Austrian Archduke Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico. McDougall, representing a state whose territory had only recently belonged to Mexico, saw the French incursion as a threat to the entire Pacific Coast. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he repeatedly invoked the Monroe Doctrine and demanded decisive government action.⁴⁰ Charles Sumner, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, frustrated the Californian's efforts.

Sumner and the Lincoln Administration considered the French seizure of Mexico as a matter of secondary importance to the prosecution of the war with the Confederacy. Secretary of State William Seward agreed with Sumner that the threat from the French incursion be held in abeyance lest Louis Napoleon abandon French neutrality and de-

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clare his support for the Confederate secession. Undaunted by innuendo about his motivation in attempting to embroil the United States in a clash with France, McDougall continued to rail against French interference in the Mexican state.⁴¹ The House of Representatives joined him and unanimously passed a resolution expressing its apprehension about French machinations along the nation's southern border. Sumner and the Senate would not be moved, however, and counseled forbearance. Sumner predicted that even without American intervention, "the whole continent would fall naturally, peacefully, and tranquilly under the irresistible influence of American institutions."⁴² As the fortunes of the Union improved and those of the Confederacy declined, Seward took an increasingly firm stand against the French adventure. In response, Napoleon, already financially drained by the elaborate Mexican court of Maximilian, slowly withdrew his monetary and military support. The soldiers of Benito Juárez then administered the final stroke to the well-intentioned but naive Maximilian, who fell before a Mexican firing squad on June 19, 1867.

McDougall's most important work in the Senate came as chairman of the Select Committee of the Pacific Railroad, created to propose the means to construct a transcontinental rail line. Working closely with the visionary railroad engineer Theodore Judah, McDougall and California Congressman Aaron Sargent carefully crafted legislative proposals intended to quiet the railroad's most vocal opponents.⁴³ Together they addressed the questions of the colossal capital outlays, the constitu-

tionality of the government involvement, and the regional rivalries that had for so long frustrated the railroad's development. The secession of the South ended that region's determined opposition and the war added a sense of urgency to the demand for construction of the railroad. Finally, on June 20, 1862, the Senate approved the Pacific Railroad Bill, which promised large grants of land and cash incentives to ensure construction. Railroad men and investors, however, balked at the funding proposals and demanded greater compensation.⁴⁴ McDougall spent the following year trying to secure the necessary guarantees, but his alcoholism rendered him ineffective and the project languished. Supporters of the railroad's construction felt that McDougall—flamboyant, loquacious, and alcoholic—had become an obstacle and must be removed from the Pacific Railroad Committee.

In a city burdened by the demands of the Civil War, McDougall provided a counterpoint to the resolute purpose of most Washington politicians. Outlandish in dress, quick-witted and and convivial, the California Senator frequently provided the grist for the city's gossip. Racing his horse at full gallop down Washington's major thoroughfares or hiring a hearse as a conveyance, McDougall developed a reputation as, in the words of Lincoln's biographers Nicolay and Hay, "one of the most remarkable and eccentric figures in Washington life."⁴⁵ But the general's free-spirited style did not hide his ineffectiveness in the Senate, where his

alcoholism, more than his conservative Democratic politics undercut his efforts. One of the general's Senate colleagues noted that McDougall appeared on Capitol Hill one day quite drunk "and some scenes were enacted which ought not to occur in a body occupying so exalted & dignified a position as the Senate of the United States."⁴⁶ Noah Brooks, the dedicated Republican journalist of the *Sacramento Union*, took particular exception to both McDougall's Democratic politics and his outlandish behavior. Brooks had few equals as a satirist and never passed up an opportunity to savage the general's reputation with his California constituents.⁴⁷

McDougall's political fortunes were in steep decline by late 1863. His frequent bouts with alcohol and his tepid support of the Lincoln administration turned his home state against him. In December, 1863, the California legislature voted down a resolution demanding his resignation, but did vote to censure him.⁴⁸ In Washington, his fortunes were little better. Frustrated by McDougall's ineffective leadership, but not wishing to embarrass the popular senator, the Senate dissolved the temporary Select Committee of the Pacific Railroad and replaced it with a permanent organization. McDougall lost not only his chairmanship but his committee seat as well, surrendering it to John Conness, Milton Latham's successor in California's other Senate seat.⁴⁹ Two years later, the Senate dropped McDougall and a fellow Democrat from all standing committees "because of their habitual inebriety and incapacity for business."⁵⁰

McDougall's last years in the Senate were spent in defiant opposition

to the efforts of Radical Republicans to recast southern society. The federal government, the general repeatedly argued, did not have the authority to destroy the South's institutions. McDougall's endorsement of a limited role for the federal government had strong antecedents in Democratic politics, from Thomas Jefferson's Kentucky Resolution in 1798 through John Calhoun's Nullification Doctrine and, most suggestive, the philosophical underpinnings of southern secessionists. But with victory near after years of fratricidal war, Congress was in no mood to debate the constitutional limitations of federal power.

McDougall's opposition to southern reconstruction also had a less noble motivation, for the senator harbored a strong antipathy towards the black race. He excoriated the confiscation bills which authorized the federal government to seize the property of disloyal southerners and to free captured slaves. McDougall expressed the "gravest apprehension of evil" in releasing from bondage the South's four million slaves.⁵¹ In the debates on the Thirteenth Amendment to abolish slavery McDougall claimed that his opposition sprang from a concern about the welfare of the freedmen and so voted against the measure. And yet he styled himself a defender of liberty:

*That these men are free, I am rejoiced. I have been as great a lover of liberty, and of liberty for their race, as any man who dares to call himself its champion, whether he comes from North or the East, or elsewhere. I understand, at the same time, that we have to maintain our individuality as a race, and we have to employ this inferior race in their proper place.*⁵²

The senator's expression of white superiority probably passed through the Senate without a ripple, for few people in Congress or elsewhere spoke for equality of the races.

On March 4, 1867, James McDougall surrendered his Senate seat to Republican Cornelius Cole. Beset by illness, enervated by his chronic drunkenness, McDougall and his long-suffering wife journeyed to his Albany, New York, birthplace to visit his sister. There, in the house where he was born, the general's health worsened and forced him to bed. Delirious, haunted by the memory of his only son, McDougall died on September 3, 1867, not yet fifty years old.⁵³ On May 24, 1868, on a wind-swept hill overlooking San Francisco, McDougall was laid to rest beside the grave of his infant son.

McDougall is not remembered today as one of the important United States senators from California. He had a great opportunity to forge a significant career in the Senate, representing California through the nation's most difficult era; but his promise went unfilled. His conservative Democratic politics cast him as an obstructionist, and alcoholism gradually eroded his effectiveness. Equally damaging to modern sensibilities was his tacit approval of the enslavement of four million people in a nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. For all his extensive travels and erudition, McDougall missed the significance of the war. He upheld the letter of the Constitution but failed to comprehend the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. □

See notes beginning on p. 155.

Milton S. Latham



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COURTESY STANFORD UNIVERSITY

SILVER PLATES AMONG THE GOLDFIELDS

THE PHOTOGRAPHERS OF SISKIYOU COUNTY, 1850-1906

"Extending from the ridge that lies between the Salmon and Trinity rivers on the east, and from the Sacramento divide on the south to the Siskiyou mountain on the north, the county of Siskiyou contains a total superficial area of over three thousand miles. It is essentially a region of mountains. Great ridges and spurs of pine-clad hills reach out in all directions, their cañons, gorges, precipitous bluffs combining with the graceful sides of other green hills to form a picture of wonderful beauty, wherever the eye may rest."¹

by Peter Palmquist

Few places excel the Siskiyou region for sheer physical beauty. Yet, it was not the landscape that attracted the earliest cameramen. Gold and exploration were the first lures, then agriculture, and the onset of settlement generally. A significant factor was the establishment of a string of waystations (each one day's travel from the next) linking California with Oregon and marching through the very heart of Siskiyou County. Photographers following this route were among the earliest Siskiyou tourists.

Most itinerant photographers wended their way from Sacramento (and the southern gold fields) northward, with stops at Marysville, Red Bluff, Shasta City (and west to Weaverville), Yreka (including the northern gold fields), and Jacksonville, Oregon. From this point they could go north to Portland, or west to Crescent City. The journey was seldom direct; the camera artists meandered from camp to camp and back again. They used local hotel rooms or unoccupied buildings, even tents. Some itinerant image-makers operated mobile studios, self contained daguerrean wagons. Most advertised their wares with hastily scrawled signs or notices in the local newspaper. The notices were highly predictable, emphasizing the above-average skill of the operator, who is "prepared" to take "likenesses of approved style" in his "rooms." His departure was usually imminent. And, as with many such notices, the advertiser makes this one appearance in history before vanishing forever.

Eventually, some of these wandering camera artists settled in as perma-

nent residents of the region, mainly in Yreka or Fort Jones. At first, these were generally portrait photographers. Indeed, why would anyone purchase a photograph that showed some landscape which was "free for the taking" from the cabin window? Soon, however, the photograph came to be seen as an important tool for aiding settlement and encouraging outside investment.

Each photographer had his (or her) own personality and characteristic style of operation. F.E. Bosworth, an Etna Mills jeweler and photographer, was typical:

*"VIEWS OF ALL KINDS—Family Groups, Pack Trains. Horse Races taken on the home stretch, Residences and Buildings, Interiors of Mines or Parlor Gatherings taken by Flash Light, taken either Stereoscopic or Plain. PORTRAITS FINISHED ANY STYLE, stamp photos by the hundred."*²

They also had their problems. In August 1894 the Boston Photo Company (a traveling portrait firm) set up its operation in Fort Jones, advertising: "Hurry! Hurry! . . . Get your photos taken before next Tuesday night or you will get left. The Boston Photo Company will positively leave Fort Jones next Thursday."³ After passing out his promotional broadsides he hung his shingle at the Central Hotel where he awaited his clients. Stopping for supper, the photographer left his kerosene darkroom lantern burning in his hotel room, and it exploded. "Every timber was dry as the summer sun could make it . . ." In twenty minutes the Central Hotel, two barber shops, a fruit stand, a saloon, and the Odd Fellows Hall were engulfed in a mass of flames. "Women and children carried water and fought steadily with the men."⁴ Yet, in spite of these heroic efforts, much of the Fort Jones business section fell victim to the flames.

(Overleaf) Carleton Watkins and painter Gilbert Munger accompanied the U.S. Geological Survey on an expedition to explore Mt. Shasta. Watkins' photographic wagon with its mammoth camera is at the left rear.

(Top) Unidentified couple, c. 1858 (sixth-plate ambrotype) This image—called an ambrotype—was on glass. While it was cheaper than the daguerreotype, and lacked the glare associated with the daguerreotype technique, it was still a one-of-a-kind image. The daguerreotype was common until about 1860 and ambrotype from 1854 until the mid 1860s. Daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and early tintypes were generally put in protective cases to enhance and preserve the images. Early photographs were usually of a standard size based on the "whole" or "full" photographic plate which measured 8½ by 6½ inches. If the full-plate was cut in half it produced images called "half-plate size." There were quarter, sixth, ninth and sixteenth plate sizes as well.

(Middle) Unidentified school group, Fort Jones, c.1870 (cabinet card by Louis Heller). This group, presumably shown with their schoolmaster, is posed on the board sidewalk in front of Heller's Fort Jones Photographic Gallery. The framed studio portraits posted on the wall behind the group served as public samples of Heller's photography. Such display frames were common for the period.

(Bottom) Miner Street, Yreka, c. 1852. This daguerreotype, by an unknown maker, is a superb example of the work of an itinerant photographic artist of the period. When viewed by the standards of today's 35mm point-and-shoot-photography, this was a truly remarkable undertaking. The daguerrean artist had to set up his camera and buff and sensitize his silver-coated daguerreotype plate before making his exposure. Then he had to develop it in highly toxic mercury fumes, then fix, wash and gold-tone it before the image was finished. Despite the effort involved, the final result appears remarkably casual for an era where stiffly posed photographs were the norm. It should be noted that the image as seen here has been reversed from the original. Unless the photographer used a reversing prism, daguerreotypes were a mirror image of the original scene. Portrait photographers of the period often suggested that a subject place his or her wedding ring on the right hand so that it would appear on the left in the finished image.

Peter Palmquist is the author of many articles and books on nineteenth century photography in California and the West.



DENTISTRY —AND— DAGUERREOTYPING.

Corner of Oregon and Lane Sts.,
(Opposite the M. E. Church.)



WILLIS & HAMILTON,

HAVE entered into co-partnership for the purpose of carrying on the business of **DENTISTRY AND PHOTOGRAPHY** and are now prepared to perform any operation pertaining to either branch of their business, in a style superior to any yet done north of Sacramento.

Every variety of picture known in the art will be taken, several of which have not been taken before in this place, viz: Photographs, Ambrographs, Plain and Crayoned, and transfer pictures on leather, India rubber, or oil cloth.

We have a Camera prepared expressly for landscapes, and one for children, which operates instantaneously.

We insert teeth on gold plates on a new and original plan, rendering the work more substantial and a perfect fit certain.

We use adhesive gold foil for plugging teeth, and warrant each plug to stand permanent.

We have also introduced Dr. Francis' method of extracting teeth without pain, by the application of the electro magnetic current directly through the tooth, numbing the sensation.

We have a machine made expressly for the purpose, have taken instructions in its use directly from Dr. Francis, the inventor, and our experiments have proved entirely satisfactory.

We are permanently located in this county, and guarantee entire satisfaction in every instance, or the money refunded.

Prices to suit the times. Instructions given on reasonable terms.

Office hours from 9 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock next morning.

Two sets of Daguerreotype apparatus for sale.

Yreka, April 1, 1859.

WILLIS & HAMILTON.

And Mr. Boston Photo Company? Business as usual in the nearby town of Etna Mills.⁵

Between 1850 and World War II at least 150 professional photographers practiced their trade in the Siskiyou County region.⁶ These, together with a host of amateur imagemakers, created a wonderful pictorial legacy of Siskiyou County's underdeveloped rural beauty and of the stalwart citizens who lived there.

While the name of the first Siskiyou area photographer is unknown, we can be certain that he numbered among the restless young men drawn to California by the gold rush. He may have been a carpenter, writing master, jeweler, druggist, or all of these. He probably tried his hand in the mines before turning to the camera. Philip Castleman, a young schoolmaster from Bacon Creek, Kentucky, is probably typical. Castleman joined an immigrant party bound for the mines in May 1849. After mining briefly on Bidwell's Bar on the Feather River, he turned to various business ventures "not any of which," he recalled in later years, "was good." He traveled through Siskiyou County on the way to Oregon where he built and sold a mill before getting involved in photography.⁷ Well known as one of the first photographers in Oregon, Castleman may also have focused his camera on the Siskiyou region.

Also typical were the adventures of the Brothers Hendee. D.H. Hendee left Brandon Seminary in the summer of 1846 and journeyed to New York expressly to learn the art of daguerreotyping. After finishing his course of instruction he traveled, making pictures as he went, through New Jersey,

Pennsylvania, and northern New York, before returning to his native Vermont. News of the gold rush brought him and his older brother (E.B. Hendee) west where they "landed on the rocks at the foot of Montgomery Street, San Francisco" in January 1850. They went immediately to the southern mines, but D.H. soon turned to making daguerreotypes of his neighbors as well as recording the historic events which were taking place about him. In 1853 he married and moved to Portland, Oregon, where he remained active in the trade until his retirement in 1886.⁸ Meanwhile, E.B. remained in California and proceeded to daguerreotype his way northward, visiting many sites in Shasta and Trinity Counties before reaching the Siskiyou. It is quite likely that he operated in the Yreka area as early as 1853-55.

At least forty daguerrean artists have been identified for northern California during the 1850s.⁹ This is a remarkable number considering the difficulty of dagguereotyping on the western frontier. The apparatus was itself extremely cumbersome and not easily adapted to the vicissitudes of horse, or horse-and-wagon travel. Daguerreotype supplies were not available along the way, and a broken container of chemicals could result in disaster or lead to a quick change of occupation. Studio props and posing apparatus were kept to a minimum by the traveling photographer.

Behind the ballyhoo which accompanied the daguerreotypist on his rounds was the *fact* of the daguerreotype itself. Each image was unique and deliberate, with a startling presence and truthfulness unlike those of any other form of art. When compared to the works of painters and sketch artists of the period, the daguerreotype was both magic and infallible truth per-

(Top left) Jacob Hansen with his four-lens, *carte de visite* camera, Yreka, c.1868. This type of camera was commonly used to make multiple negatives in the CDV size. The negative was printed four-up and the finished prints were cut apart and mounted on card stock. Note the formal attire worn by Hansen. Studio photographers were expected to dress well even on the frontier. The cast iron metal stands just visible behind Hansen's feet ran upwards behind the subject and helped him stand motionless.

(Top right) Donald McKay and Jack's Capturers, Yreka?, 1873 (oversized *carte de visite* by Louis Heller). The Modoc War was one of Siskiyou County's most talked about events. Fought in the lava beds on the California-Oregon border, the Modoc Indian War pitted a small band of Modoc Indians against the crushing military strength of the United States Army. The Modocs held out for nearly seven months before being captured. This photograph shows some of the Warm Springs Indian scouts who had helped the military. Heller was the only photographer to photograph the Modoc captives.

(Bottom left) *Carte de visite* by Joseph Heller showing the capability of straightforward studio work to capture both likeness and mood. The unidentified subjects are probably drovers.

(Bottom right) Unidentified young woman with doll, Fort Jones, c.1880 (*carte de visite* by Louis Heller). Heller has made good use of a posing chair to elevate the doll nearer to his client's height, thus strengthening the composition. The *carte* has rounded corners and is on colored stock.

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sonified. There is more than a little wisdom in the photographer's advertisement, "Come one, come all, and save the shadow, ere the substance fly."

It was only a matter of time before an enterprising young photographer established a permanent portrait gallery. By the 1860s Siskiyou County's increasing prosperity and growth had already begun to guarantee a more stable society—including women and children with an accompanying need for churches, schools, permanent houses, and all the other trappings associated with a progressive society.

The first important gallery owner was Louis Herman Heller (1839–1928). Heller arrived in New York as a sixteen-year-old immigrant from Germany in 1855. By the early 1860s, Heller had joined a New York photographic gallery where he learned the portrait trade. In October 1864 he opened a gallery on "Miner Street, one door west of Yreka Brewery."¹⁰ His offerings included photographs on paper, called *cartes de visite*, and "melainotypes" an early form of the tintype. For the next five years, Heller's Yreka Photograph Gallery did a respectable and growing business. During part of each summer he traveled with his portable photo tent to adjacent towns, Fort Jones, Rough and Ready (Etna), and the Scott Valley region. Here he provided "counterfeit presentments" to clients unable to travel to his permanent gallery. In January, 1869, Heller sold his Yreka Gallery to his assistant, Jacob Hansen, and established a new base of operations in Fort Jones where he remained active until 1900.

Heller (like other studio operators of the 1860s) posed his subjects simply, often with the client standing full-length against a plain backdrop. A small table was sometimes employed as a studio prop, and he kept a massive chair with an ornately carved back for seated poses.

Heller did not confine himself solely to portraiture. On occasion he photographed mines, town overviews, new buildings, and anything else that might be expected of a small town photographer. In 1873 he photographed the Modoc Indian war. He was first on the battlefield with his camera, the first to have his photographs published in the national media, and the only photographer to photograph the captives.¹¹

Jacob Hansen (c.1828–1893) was another long-term gallery operator. Hansen was a Norwegian immigrant who registered in Yreka in July 1853. The register described him as a small man (5' 3" tall), light complected with blue eyes. He was apparently a bachelor all of his life. Like others he had been a gold miner before turning to photography. He had also operated a saloon, which he sold to purchase Heller's Yreka Gallery. In 1878 he offered his *carte de visite* portraits at \$3 per dozen, and the larger (4½ by 6½ inch) cabinet style photographs at \$5 per dozen or \$6 if tinted with water colors.¹²

When the Victorian era reached Siskiyou County, beginning in the 1880s, portraiture lost its austere qualities. Women's hairdos, fancy clothing, and the taste for exotic clutter led to large portraits (such as cabinet cards or even larger) and lush studio settings to match. Painted backdrops representing woodland settings or scenic vistas (often with an Italian chalet in the distance) became the rage. There

(Top left) Unidentified Native Americans, Yreka?, c.1870–75 (tintype). Photographs of local Indians were uncommon in Siskiyou County, but not rare. Little attention was given to posing these men, and the posing stand has been oddly placed. The cloth drape is probably meant to hide the head clamps on the top of the stand.

(Top right) Typical nineteenth century studio and field cameras, Peter Britt Gallery, Jacksonville, Oregon. Peter Britt had the largest and most fashionable photographic gallery in southern Oregon from about 1856 until his death in 1905. Many Siskiyou County citizens were photographed in his gallery, and he made a number of trips into California to capture views of the countryside including Mt. Shasta. The cameras shown include one from the daguerrean era; several early wet-plate; at least two stereoscopic cameras; and even a turn-of-the-century example (in the far right corner). Britt was able to produce glass negatives as large as 16 by 20 inches.

(Bottom left) Makeshift studio, Sawyer's Bar, c.1890 (modern contact print from original negative). The building is probably a converted cabin. Note the use of window light and a roof skylight in the upper left of the photo. The backdrop is typical of Victorian-era opulence and was considered *de rigueur* during the latter part of the 19th century. The well-worn appearance of the background (including several areas that have been waterstained) is doubtless evidence of a traveling photographer's kit. The chair was probably appropriated locally. The photographer would have cropped the print more closely to his subject before mounting it, thus completing the illusion of a "first-class" gallery portrait.

(Bottom right) James Irwin, Yreka, c.1875–80 (tintype). Irwin was a bootblack at the Franco-American Hotel in Yreka. Reportedly he was married to an Indian woman, and they had five or so children. The editor of the Yreka Journal was a friend of Irwin and in the early 1870s frequently mentioned "Colonel James Irwin, Esq." The comments were generally funny, but not derogatory. Well's History of Siskiyou County (p. 143) noted: "When the army returned [from the Modoc War], among other trophies of the trip, they brought in a young Modoc squaw, whom they named Tule, and who is the wife of Jimmy Irwin, a well-known colored citizen of Yreka."

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were balustrades made of imitation stone, uprooted tree stumps with artificial rocks, ponds with rowboats. Children posed on tricycles, young adults leaned on a rustic garden gate or peered at the world from the window of a painted ivy-covered cottage. Allegorical posing became popular, with young, pampered city girls appearing before the camera in the attire of a shepherdess or a farmer's daughter. Similarly, the young man might be dressed as a frontiersman, complete with buckskins and rifle. Of course, this was merely a passing trend and by 1900 had all but evaporated in favor of portraits showing character rather than spectacle.

There were dozens of short-lived portrait galleries in Siskiyou County, to say nothing of the traveling photographers who stayed only a week at a time. Besides Heller and Hansen, the better studio operators of Siskiyou County included John C. Franklin and Edgar Wade Howell (Yreka 1890s). In the early twentieth century the two most important portrait photographers were H. Lee Jellum and Miss Ida Kleinhammer, both in Yreka.¹³

Carlton E. Watkins (1829–1916)¹⁴ accompanied geologist Clarence King (appointed Chief of the United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel in 1867) on an expedition to document the dominant feature of Siskiyou County. Besides King and Watkins, the exploring party included Gilbert Munger (a landscape painter), three packers and a “no account” cook. They traveled with eighteen government mules, an army wagon, and Watkins’ photographic wagon. The party left in late August, arriv-

ing near the 14,400-foot mountain in early September. King penned these eloquent lines shortly after their arrival:

When our tents were pitched at Sisson's, while a picturesque haze floated up from southward, we enjoyed the grand uncertain form of Shasta with its heaven-piercing crest of white . . . appealed to our emotions; but best we liked to sit at evening near Munger's easel, watching the great lava cone glow with light almost as wild and lurid as if its crater still steamed . . . Watkins [however] thought it 'photographic luck,' that the mountain should so have draped itself with mist as to defy his camera.¹⁵

On September 11th the party began its ascent of Shasta. It was difficult at best, especially with Watkins’ heavy equipment. One of the party described the climb as “alternations of simple slippery ice and debris slopes,”¹⁶ but King called it the “most dangerous kind of climbing I have ever seen.” He added:

We walked in cautious balance, a misstep likely to hurl us down into the chaos of lava blocks within the crater . . . while Watkins was making his photographic views, I climbed about, going to the edges of some crevasses and looking over into their blue vaults where icicles overhang and a whispered sound of waterflow comes up faintly from beneath.¹⁷

It is almost impossible to imagine how Watkins was able to prepare his wet-plate negatives under such conditions. On of his assigned goals was to capture the seven-mile-long, slow-moving mass of ice called Whitney Glacier. Watkins pitched his photo tent on a small pond of smooth blue ice, and “when he thought he had the light all shut off, found that enough still came through the ice-floor to spoil his

(Top) Lee's Greenhorn Mill, c.1880. Another example of the documentary power of photography. Not only do we see the basic architecture of a Siskiyou County lumbermill, but the oxen bringing logs to the mill. Observe also, how the logs have been chamfered to allow for easier “skidding” by the oxen. The children, together with their toy wagon, are also frozen in time.

(Middle) Hydraulic mining for gold, Oro Fino area, c.1870s (stereograph by Louis Heller). This was the Eastlick Mine which consisted of thirty acres. The State Mineralogist (1888) noted: “The part worked yielded . . . from an area one hundred and fifty feet wide by three hundred feet long and thirty-five feet deep, as follows: Result of drifting [before hydraulic work], \$15,000; result from hydraulic, \$24,700; total \$39,000.” This, of course, was in nineteenth-century dollars. The photo clearly shows the effect of the water from the Giants. Also evident are the sluice box and flume arrangement. Although hydraulic mining was an effective method of removing overburden it also clogged downstream rivers.

(Bottom left) Mt. Shasta, 1870 by C.E. Watkins

(Bottom right) Cowboys roping cattle, c.1875–80 (tintype). This is a remarkable action photograph taken during the wet-plate era. Even if the cowboys posed deliberately it is hard to conceive of the photographer being able to set up his camera, coat his iron photography plate, and expose it quickly enough to avoid blurs from subject movement.

COURTESY SISKIYOU COUNTY MUSEUM



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



COURTESY BANCROFT LIBRARY



COURTESY SISKIYOU COUNTY MUSEUM



negatives, obliging him to cover that also."¹⁸

A photographer who was on the spot became a journalist capturing the essence of an event. During the early years of Siskiyou County this meant mining, town building, and the genesis of a new society. Later, the photograph became a Chamber of Commerce tool, at the Chicago Exposition of 1893 or the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915, for instance. Mass produced stereographs and photographic postcards broadcast the potential of Siskiyou County worldwide. This function became especially important after the 1887 completion of the Oregon & California Railroad link which brought excursionists by the train-load.

Which photographers contributed the most to this process? Louis Heller systematically photographed towns, mining, and the Modoc Indian War. C.E. Watkins' photographs revealed the area's geology. Earl McGarry (from West Virginia), Charles A. Lare (from Downs, Kansas), and others distributed stereographs to the tourist trade. Lare also provided the illustrations for a massive two-part article on Siskiyou County called "Millions in Gold," published in the widely-read *Overland Monthly*.¹⁹

The Southern Pacific Railroad Company sent a succession of photographers to document every natural feature along its route as well as every town, flourishing business, prominent residence, hostelry, and spa. While many of these photographers remain anonymous, their work stands as a constant reminder of the times. A concise idea of exactly what these "times" meant in 1888 may be surmised from the following notice in the Mount

Shasta Herald: "AN EXHIBITION ON WHEELS—One of the New York aquarium cars will be at the depot in Sisson on Thursday and Friday. It is said to contain a large number of curiosities, the most prominent of which are an alligator, boa-constrictor, large turtles and a vampire . . ."²⁰

Commercial photographers like C.R. Miller systematically photographed the rise of corporate industry, mainly lumbering and agriculture. Charles J. Schuffler did the same for the developing highway system and the impact of the automobile generally.

Sometimes the photographer was a one-person promoter. John Oliver Welsh comes to mind. He was a veritable "man for all seasons." A prolific producer of images all over Northern California from 1863–1886 he also doubled variously as an entrepreneur, miner, builder of lumber mills, merchant, dabbler in real estate, Democratic Party chairman and candidate for Surveyor of Siskiyou County. He was also the founder of the town of Mott.

Finally there was the amateur. By the late 1880s, new processes and advancing technology put photography within the reach of almost anyone. When President Cleveland visited Mount Shasta on a fishing trip in 1889, a local editor observed that the "woods in the vicinity of the fishing grounds swarmed with photographers eager to obtain a picture of the president in an interesting position," and that he "dared not embrace his wife for fear that some amateur would photograph him in the act, and that the representation would appear in the morning papers."²¹

Surely this is an eloquent testimony to the power of photography. □

See notes beginning on page 155.

(Top) Chinese celebration, Yreka, c.1898. Possibly taken during the Chinese New Year's festivities. This is a fine, spontaneous image, probably taken by an amateur. Yreka had a sizeable Chinese community and was less repressive towards the Chinese than most of California. In part this may have been because the Siskiyou region continued to need more labor than the non-Chinese community could provide. Many of the well-to-do also employed the Chinese as servants.

(Middle left) Lynching, Yreka, August 26, 1895 (photo by E.W. Howell). These four men were convicted murderers who had been confined in the Siskiyou County Jail. The men are identified as William Null, Garland Stemler, Louis Moreno, and Lawrence Johnson. They were taken from jail during the night by local citizens and hung from a railroad rail in the courthouse square.

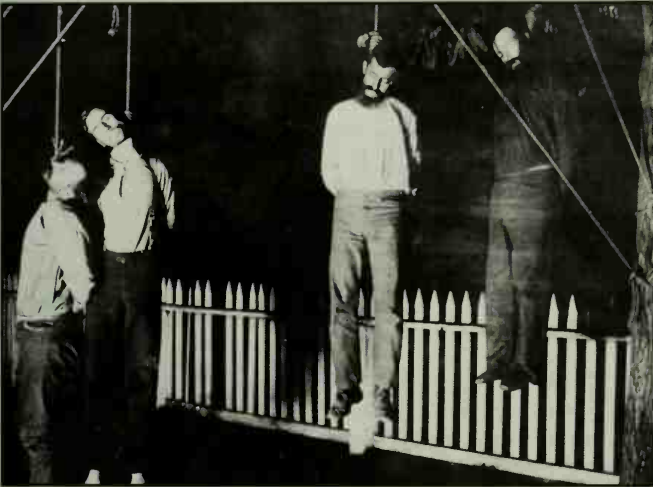
(Middle right) Harvesting in Scott Valley, CA., c.1905 (modern contact print from original negative by C.J. Schuffler). Grain production was an important part of Siskiyou County's basic economy. Since natural grazing was often sparse, such crops were needed to supplement local sheep and cattle ranching as well as to serve a region already greatly isolated from inexpensive sources of food commodities.

(Bottom) Siskiyou Co. Pioneers Reunion, Fort Jones, May 19, 1906 (photo by H. Lee Jellum). It is curious to note how the rough-and-ready pioneers who had founded Siskiyou County in the 1850s had become an aging establishment by 1906.

COURTESY SISKIYOU COUNTY MUSEUM



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COURTESY SISKIYOU COUNTY MUSEUM



Y MORNING.

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le in Attack on
Action Against
Administrator

Disputed Over
Name Wallace
pers Filed

question of jurisdic-
y. Hall and Asst. U. S.
yesterday filed with
District Judge Cos-
to dismiss the peti-
Independent dairies
enjoin Federal Milk
r H. C. Darger and
s, Carroll Hunter and
y, and their counsel,
arrison, from enforcing
le regulations.

FOR MONDAY

ing on the application
unction and the motion
will be heard by Judge
Monday.

the motion to dismiss
last night on officials
stiff dairy companies, the
ernsey Dairy, the Valley
the Royal Farms Dairy
and R. G. Willis, and their
cousins D. Collings and E.

TO JURISDICTION

ation of jurisdiction rests
at the plaintiffs failed to
Henry A. Wallace, Secre-
Agriculture, the National
Administrator. In their peti-
an injunction. The local
officials contend he should
a party in the application
straining order, and then
ert he cannot be subjected
jurisdiction of the local Fed-
erict Court.

suit involving the Secretary
ulture must be filed in the
of Columbia

st Will Help M.C.A. Work

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 7.—
unity Chest executives have
ed to contribute \$2400 this
year to the East Los Angeles
A. so that the organization
continue its work.
sume of the accomplishments
e institution in providing
while recreation for the boys of
community and its consequent
cutting down juvenile delin-
quency were presented to the Chest
atives. An anonymous donor
ually established the institution

Inside Story of "Putsch" Disclosed



Left — Corp. E. T. Gray, U.S.M.C., tells about activities of Silver Shirts at San Diego.



Virgil Hays, ex-member of U.S.M.C., relating experiences as member in the Silver Shirts.

SILVER LEGION STORM TROOPS

This is to Certify that

VIRGIL HAYS - Instructor

Is in good standing until Oct. 1-1934 in

San Diego, Calif. 47-6 Post.

D. M. ...
W. K. ...

Virgil Hays
SIGNATURE OF TROOP

Membership card of Virgil Hays in Silver Shirt organiza-
tion which he carried while observing operations of Shirts.

SILVER SHIRT PLOT TOLD

Marine Tells Congressional Group Plot
Seize San Diego City Hall

(Continued from Page 1, Part 1)

government, ejection of Jews from
public office and a national cor-
poration plan of government with
every adult citizen holding one share
of stock on which a dividend of \$80
a month would be paid.

UNDERSHERIFF "DOOMED"

Additional testimony was to the
effect that a number of sailors and
marines, including at least two com-
missioned officers, belonged to the
Silver Shirt organization. In San
Diego, and that Oliver K. Saxon,
undersheriff, was to be slain when
the troops captured the city.

It was said that the members en-

gaged in milita-
back of San
ment arms at
that at least
a store building
W. Kemp was
commander of
ver Shirts, and
as commander
area.

In announce-
ings of the su-
ended, Krame-
testimony whi-
be disclosed by
poisonous na-
serious in-
tions."

SEWELL QUIZ REPO

Bar Trustees to Receive Findings
Sometime Before August Primary

Sometime before the primary election the findings of a special in-
vestigation into the courtroom conduct of Superior Judge Harry F. Sewell will
be made public by the Bar Association and, at

PAYNE INSANITY HELD HOPELESS

Head of Norwalk Hospital
Testifies at Trial

"Epileptic Furor" Described
as Condition in Killings

"Complete Mental Failure"
Seen by Dr. Wayne

For the third time since his sanity
trial began Louis Rude Payne, 21-
year-old convicted murderer of his
mother and brother, yesterday was
declared to be insane by Dr. Edwin
Wayne, head of the Norwalk State
Hospital, who testified before a jury
of seven women and five men in the
court of Superior Judge Schmidt.

Not only was the boy insane,
seized by an "epileptic furor" at
the time he beat Mrs. Carrie Payne
and his brother, Robert, 15, to death
with a Boy Scout hand-ax, but he
is hopelessly insane now, the psychi-
atrist testified.

The epilepsy and the "dream
state" through which the youth
moved at the time of the brutal
murders goes on to a complete men-
tal failure, Dr. Wayne told the
jurors.

Defense Attorneys Leonard Wilson
and Charles Rude rested their case
yesterday at the conclusion of Dr.
Wayne's testimony. The prosecu-
tion will open today.

BUDGET RISE PLEA MEETS OPPOSITION

Realty Board Asks That
All Requests to Exceed
Limit Be Denied by State

A telegram was sent yesterday to
the State Board of Equalization by
the Los Angeles Realty Board seek-

STEP TAKEN ON CHANGE IN CHARTER

Amendments on Utili-
Franchises Approved
Council Committee

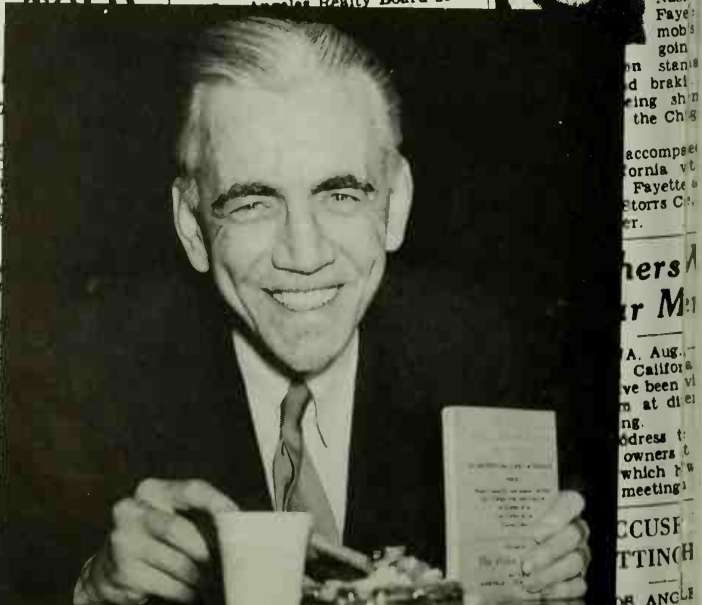
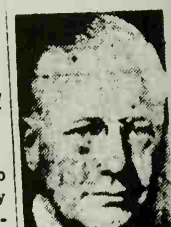
After an extended hearing,
Legislative Committee of the
Council approved three sug-
gested charter amendments applying
to public utility franchises. If ap-
proved by the Council at its ses-
sion tomorrow, these amendments
will be submitted to the people at
the September 27 election.

One amendment will permit
the city to apply for franchises to
terminate franchises. A second
amendment covers transportation
utilities alone. The third amend-
ment, which occasioned most of the
argument, permits gas companies to
apply for term franchises.

Paul Overton, appearing as
counsel for the Los Angeles Gas
Electric Corporation, presented
arguments against the provision which
would require gas companies to sue
for their constitutional franchises.
He also opposed the method of de-
termining the value of the prop-

Nash Dealers to Meet Sales Leaders Tomorrow

Plans for an extensive sales
campaign will be outlined to de-
velop 200 Nash distributors, dealers
and salesmen at the meeting



Continued from Page 1. At the sum-
mer session of the University of
California, Dr. Frank A. ...
wife's hair with ...
shears early this ...
shears 4521 Union Pl.



THE MAN WHO WOULD BE HITLER

William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion

by Suzanne G. Ledeboer

The names in *Who's Who in America* are selected not as the best but as an attempt to choose the *best known* men and women in all lines of useful and reputable achievements.¹ The editors did not necessarily imply praise, or even respect for William Dudley Pelley when they included his name in each biennial edition of *Who's Who* from 1926 to 1942. During those years, Pelley's reputation grew first from his success as an author and publisher and later from his notoriety as the man who was prepared to be "America's Hitler." A national rather than a California figure, Pelley was the founder of the Silver Legion of America, a fascist organization whose activities first drew national attention in 1933. A

(Left) William Dudley Pelley, holding Silver Shirt literature, testified to the Dies committee in Washington, February 8, 1940. Pelley told the committee he felt toward Jews "exactly as the Nazi party" did in Germany. He added, however, that he did not "countenance all the methods Mr. Hitler may have put in force."

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

year later, when a U.S. congressional committee set out to investigate the organization, it chose Los Angeles as the site for its hearings—at a time when Pelley himself was on trial in North Carolina for fraudulent business practices. The choice of Los Angeles was dictated by the conspicuous activities of the Silver Shirts in California. By the end of the decade, Pelley was predicting violent action to overthrow the New Deal in areas where the Silver Legion was strongest: the South, the Pacific Northwest, and California.² Silver Legion posts were active in Baldwin Park, Fontana, Hollywood, Huntington Park, Inglewood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Santa Paula, and Ventura.³ Pelley's story, and the story of the Silver Legion, is one of religious and political extremism, utopian economic theories, and intellectual poverty.

William Dudley Pelley was born April 12, 1885, in Lynn, Massachusetts, to William and Grace Goodale Pelley. His father was an

impoverished itinerant Methodist preacher, and Pelley was raised in an inhibited, deeply religious New England atmosphere. Pelley described himself as a child as "a perpetually hungry, shabbily dressed, none-too-happy youngster."⁴ His formal education ended when he was fourteen. Ten years later Pelley wrote that he edited and published *Philosopher Magazine* to express his "smoldering Bolshevism" and "the fearful storm of hatred and despair within me."⁵ Between 1912 and 1919, Pelley worked as a police reporter for the *Boston Globe* and did occasional writing and editing for several regional publications.⁶

Pelley also wrote slick fiction, and "The Toast to Forty-five," a short story that first appeared in *Pictorial Review*, was included in *The Best Short Stories of 1918*. The story—which focused on heredity, blood ties, and Christian self-sacrifice—was prefaced with three stars, signifying a work of more or less permanent literary value" and entitling it to a place on the annual "Rolls of

Honor."⁷ Later editions of the *Best Short Stories* series listed his contributions to *Collier's*, *American Magazine*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Redbook*. There were no more three-star stories, but several merited one or two stars.⁸

In 1919, Pelley was selected by the Methodist Centenary and the Rockefeller Foundation for missionary work in Japan and Korea. After completing his tour as a missionary, he became publicity man for the International YMCA's Red Triangle, traveling 8,000 miles across central Siberia. Additionally, he served as a courier from Ambassador Francis to Consul-General Harris and President Wilson and as a war correspondent for the *Saturday Evening Post*, covering the Allied intervention against the Bolsheviks in Siberia. Pelley wrote about his experiences in Asia and analyzed the situation there for *Sunset Magazine* and *World Outlook* in 1919 and 1920. His observations reflected a provincial New Englander's isolationist sentiments and assumptions about the superiority of a northern European heritage as well as an anti-imperialist ideology reminiscent of the 1890s. Pelley's articles are replete with references to "Christian white men," "white men's blood," "Japs," race, and heredity.⁹

Despite his well-established reputation as a writer Pelley was deeply in debt when he moved to Southern California in 1928 and formed the Pelley and Eckels Advertising Agency.

Suzanne Ledeboer is a Literacy Assistant in the Pasadena Public Library's Pasadena Reads program. She is currently doing research on the Great I Am Foundation, another Thirties group.

He also sold real estate, published a magazine, *High Hat*, wrote scenarios for films starring Lon Chaney, Tom Mix, and Hoot Gibson, and founded a chain of fast-food restaurants.¹⁰ Warner Brothers-First National Pictures made Pelley's third novel, *Drag*, into a movie which reviewer A.M. Sherwood, Jr., praised as "vastly entertaining" and worth following "with rapt attention from beginning to end."¹¹ *Golden Rubbish*, Pelley's fourth novel, introduced the political philosophy he would eventually develop in the League for Liberation sect and the Silver Legion. It presents contemporary characters who are the instruments of a new religion which is to be led by a "common man somewhere who shall lead the nations into some sort of union."¹² Four years later he would identify this common man as Adolf Hitler.

Pelley marked an experience which occurred in April 1928, while he was living in Altadena, as the turning point in his life. According to his own account, published as the lead story in the March 1929 issue of the 2.2 million circulation *American Magazine*, Pelley had died one April evening and gone to heaven for seven short minutes. There he visited deceased friends, relinquished his negative personality and habits, and acquired the ability to "unlock hidden powers within myself that I know every human being possesses and had augmented my five physical senses with other senses just as bona fide, legitimate, and natural, . . ."¹³ Pelley concluded that the subliminal world was the real one and hinted that perhaps he was one special "monitor" chosen for the unusual experience of dying and going to Heaven in order "to give the whole race an inspiration

by which it may quicken its spiritual pace."¹⁴ Over 5,000 readers wrote letters in response to "Seven Minutes in Eternity—the Amazing Experience that Made Me Over."¹⁵ Pelley continued this theme in "An Eagle Flies," which appeared in *Collier's* on June 15, 1929, and referred to "the strivings of the great Race Heart to lift itself out of the sloughs of brutish biology as Biology, and attain to those Heights of Progress marked on every crag by the clean, white shafts of Sacrifice."¹⁶

It took Pelley two years to begin building institutions that embodied his political and religious convictions, but by 1930 he had moved to Asheville, North Carolina, where he established the Galahad Press and Galahad College. Pelley asserted that students at the college, where the enrollment was limited to 250 per year, learned a superior form of Christianity and Christian economics while studying Ethical History, Spiritual Eugenics, Social Metaphysics, Christian Philosophy, Educational Therapy, and Cosmic Mathematics. The classes were also available as correspondence courses.¹⁷ In April, 1931, Pelley founded the League for the Liberation, also known as the Fraternity of the Liberation. A year later, the League had published at least two thick volumes titled *The Program of Services for the Weekly Assembly of the League for Liberation*.¹⁸ The League established a Church of the Christian Democracy with Pelley as its high priest and offered a weekly program of services which addressed such subjects as spiritual identity, charity, parenthood, "nerves," morality, and male-female relations.¹⁹



SCHEMER AND FUEHRER—David Mayne, seated, who confessed forging letters linking Chairman Dies and William Dudley Pelley, leader of Silver Shirts, is shown looking at one of the letters yesterday at Washington. Pelley stands beside him.

The religion of liberation moved Pelley to write and publish a book on political economics in 1933. *No More Hunger* is a two-volume collection of what appear to be twenty-two different pamphlets printed separately over the preceding several years. Each section describes one aspect of a "Christ Democracy" whose economics are a modified version of Mussolini's corporative state, with heavy emphasis on the virtues of white, protestant Christianity against the evil influences of "modern educational institutions supported by endowments from the present rapacious element in the modern barbaric state."²⁰ In Pelley's utopian nation there would be no competition, no taxes, no rents, no interest, no currency, no foreclosures, and no crime. Neither would there be Jews or bankers. Lawyers, however, were given a special place. Because they would lose eighty percent of their business with no disagreements to resolve, lawyers would administer the affairs of the nation from a headquarters located in Washington, D.C.²¹ *No More*

Hunger was Pelley's plea for a return to what he thought was the utopian era of the nineteenth century before the Great War and before the waves of immigration from southern and eastern Europe had arrived in the United States. The League and its "Christ Democracy" were not stridently anti-Semitic; however, the book did promote white Protestant racial and religious superiority.

Yet Pelley made a smooth transition from religious and economic spiritualism to organizing a paramilitary force in open support of Adolf Hitler. On January 31, 1933, the day after Hitler came to power in Germany, Pelley formed the Silver Legion of America. He claimed a year later that "posterity will attest that Chief Pelley of the Silver Shirts was the first man in the United States to step out openly and support Adolf Hitler and his German-Nazi program. Hitler became German Chancellor on the 31st [sic] day of January 1933. This publication appeared on the 18th of the ensuing February openly and unashamedly endorsing Hitler and his

program against the German Jewish 'reds.'"²² Pelley claimed to have received this inspiration from his oracle four years previously: "When a certain young housepainter comes to the head of the German people, then do you take that as your time-symbol for bringing the work of the Christ Militia into the open!"²³ In 1939, Pelley would explain his intentions more fully in his autobiography:

My purpose in forming the Silver Shirts, . . . was to prepare a great horde of men nationally to meet the crisis intelligently and constructively. Every Silver Shirt must know the full extent of the conspiracy, see it in its most detailed workings, get his thinking up onto a level where the size of the plot could be accredited and, if Red Communism in all its frightfulness were finally projected upon the country, be in a position to join with tens of thousands of similarly enlightened Christians, and preserve the form of constitutional government set up by the forefathers. If this last meant using force to hurl a great regime of

THE SILVERSHIRT LEGION OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE
NATIONAL
COMMANDER

P. O. BOX 1776
ASHEVILLE, N. C.

(Boston, Mass)
7-22-'38

Dear Dave:

This letter will confirm instruction resulting from conference held at Headquarters during which The Senator--McConnell--True--Hial and others were present.

The conference verified belief that we may safely continue "in the understanding that Dies will not go out of his way to call us or to embarrass us--True--Fr.Coughlin--George or The Legion : However there remains the chance of disagreement between Dies and one of his committee--or even between him and one of those of us entrusted with the responsibility of "keeping us off the fly-paper"----Jealousy in matter of rival organizations might serve to "turn the official heat on us" also---therefore---You will be expected, as liaison officer, to remain constantly informed---Report the first sign of disloyalty or misunderstanding---Do NOT ACT on information--Leave that to me--And for the present do not report on such matters to Mac or in the presence of Hinchliffe.

In short--make the customary calls--Just "drop in" on certain individuals--No questions---Observe and listen.

Unless the matter be urgent do not report by letter or wire here, and in the event of my not returning to Headquarters by August 1 etc., I will advise itinerary.

Sincerely yours

Pelley

ATWORLD WIDE PHOTOS

Copy of a letter written to discredit the Dies committee by suggesting that chairman Martin Dies was in active collusion with Pelley. Pelley's agent David Mayne confessed to having forged this and other letters.

scoundrels from the country, very well then, it meant force.²⁴

Although originally organized in Asheville, the Silver Legion moved its central headquarters to Oklahoma City in its first year and from there directed the affairs of its nine districts, which spread from New England to the Pacific Coast and from the Plains states to the Gulf of Mexico.²⁵ Pelley was national commander, or chief, and there were a national field marshall, a comptroller, and a foreign adjutant. According to Pelley, "The whole Silver Shirt horde required discipline from top to bottom. But military discipline is military discipline. It rests on severe penalties for infractions of rules. It depends on uniforms to designate rank and therefore authentic responsibilities."²⁶ Silver Legion recruits could purchase a uniform consisting of "dark blue corduroy trousers, tie, leggins [sic], and a silver shirt with a scarlet "L" on the shoulder." The uniforms cost ten dollars and were available from the Legion's Quartermaster Corps in Oklahoma City.²⁷

At its peak, the Silver Legion probably enrolled 15,000 members, reported Donald S. Strong, who conducted a study of anti-Semitic groups, although claims ranged from 5,000 to two million. The highest concentration was on the Pacific Coast, and membership grew quite rapidly in California during the mid-1930s—a time when many esoteric movements found a ready audience in the state. Silver Shirts engaged in direct action against alleged or actual communist organizing efforts among farm workers.²⁸ Membership was open to women as well as men, and the rolls listed a majority of professional people, including Protestant clergymen and attorneys. Blue-collar workers and former members of the Ku Klux Klan were also represented, as were individuals who were thirty-second degree Masons or Scottish Rite Shriners. Although Pelley claimed a need to build "a Native-Son, Protestant-Christian political machine," many of the members were German-Americans. Applicants were required to submit a photograph and supply detailed

personal information: "racial extraction," religion, name and address of family physician, profession, "previous politics," physical disabilities, military training, average income, name of bank, real estate owned and its location, and references.²⁹

Donations were solicited and received, but the amounts obtained were generally one and two dollars at a time. Three large donations were made by George B. Fisher, an executive of the Crowell Publishing Company, (\$20,000); Sarah C. Scott (\$10,000); and Dr. John S. Brinkley, who allegedly made a fortune selling goat extract to impotent men (\$5,000). The German-American Bund was also solicited for funds, and additional money was raised from dues of ten dollars per year and from the sale of literature published by Galahad Press.³⁰

The Silver Legion published *Liberation*, a weekly magazine, and *The Silver Ranger*, a weekly newspaper. *Liberation*, with a press run of 50,000 in December, 1933, also served as the newspaper of Galahad College under the name of *The Liberator*. In

OURS...to fight for



CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

Pelley and the Silver Shirts never became a major force in American life, but their open espousal of Hitler's doctrines inspired real fear that "it can happen here," especially after the United States entered World War II.

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

an early issue the *Liberation* masthead—strategically placed over an article which rewrote the Declaration of Independence—announced that the magazine was a “Journal of Patriotism and the Higher Fraternity.”³¹ The *Silver Ranger* began in Oklahoma City in November, 1933, but moved to Los Angeles the following January. It was published there for the next seven months. Press runs in Los Angeles were never more than 13,000 and at times were as low as 5,000. Paid subscribers numbered 1,300, and additional copies were handed out to members of Silver Legion posts for distribution.³² The masthead for February 1, 1934, summarized the organization’s credo: “Liberty Under Law, Liberation by Light, For Christ and Constitution, and Take Back the Nation from the Alien.” The lead article was headlined “Silver Shirts will Repudiate Recognition of Red Russia!” and subtitled “Pelley’s Men Covenant to Restore Constitution to Full Health and End Jewish NRA Within Nation.”³³ Still another Pelley corporation, Skyland Press Publications,

sold a million copies of his writings per year, mostly on the Pacific Coast. Large shipments were sent to the Aryan Book Store operated by Hans Diebel and located next to the German-American Bund’s headquarters in Los Angeles.

The first major nationwide expose of Pelley appeared in *Harper’s Magazine* in November, 1933. Johan Smertenko’s article examined the political basis for the growth of Anti-Semitism in the United States and the use of scapegoats to explain away the economic cataclysm then taking place. A month later, the *New Republic* followed with profiles of a number of American fascist groups and warned that Pelley Silver Shirts were dangerous and needed watching.³⁴ Today, a weekly news magazine, published a three-part series by Samuel Duff McCoy in March and April, 1934, which documented the pro-Hitler activities of American groups with German and/or native American ties. Pelley and the Silver

Shirts were the main focus of the second article in the series. Today’s reporting was supplemented by two full pages of editorial comment by Raymond Moley in the March 31, 1934, issue.

Legal and economic troubles followed the unfavorable press. On April 25, 1934, Pelley’s Galahad Press filed for bankruptcy in Asheville. Within a month, the bankruptcy petition had become a sixteen-count grand jury indictment of Pelley. The charges included selling stock in the press without registering its sale with the state, advertising stock for sale with prior knowledge that Galahad Press was insolvent, and diverting \$100,000 of Galahad Press funds for Pelley’s personal use.

Pelley’s correspondence of several hundred thousand letters was subpoenaed and examined by an Asheville lawyer who reported that most of the letters came from poor, uneducated, neurotic, elderly women. The correspondents indicated interest in Pelley’s metaphysics or opposition to the liberal policies of



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Police break up a disturbance outside a Silver Shirt meeting place in Chicago, November 23, 1938. Five people were arrested in this melee.

President Roosevelt's administration. Letters from lower or middle class native Americans with Anglo-Saxon origins who lived in urban areas of the Middle West and the West Coast predominated. Many of the letters were written prior to the organization of the Silver Shirts and most showed more interest in Pelley's spiritualism and the Great Pyramid prophecy than in the Silver Shirts.³⁵

Pelley was found guilty early in 1935, sentenced to two years in prison, and fined \$1,000.³⁶ The sentence was suspended as long as he remained on good behavior. Pelley stopped publishing *Liberation* after his indictment but reissued it as *Pelley's Weekly* in August, 1934. Many regular readers and subscribers had drifted away, however, and press runs for the new weekly dropped to about 16,000.³⁷ Writing after his conviction, Pelley claimed in 1935 that the state of North Carolina wanted to silence him "because of my personal admiration for, and moral support of, that great and wise man who at the present writing dominates the

German nation and has caused it to take the first great step toward the accomplishment of those aims that appeal to me strongly as a political philosopher."³⁸

While Pelley was being tried in Asheville, the Silver Shirts were coming under congressional scrutiny as the Special House Congressional Subcommittee on Un-American Activities (the McCormack-Dickstein Committee) opened hearings in Los Angeles. Chaired by Representative Charles Kramer of Hollywood, the subcommittee had been directed to investigate the activities of the Silver Shirts and other fascist groups in Southern California. Two Marine Corps Intelligence agents testified that they had joined the Silver Shirts and offered sensational details from their experiences. Virgil Hayes reported that he had been recruited by W.W. Kemp, head of the Silver Shirts Pacific Coast division, after a chance encounter. He claimed to have taught members street fighting and the use of small arms and to have been offered \$10 for each rifle, \$50 for each machine

gun, and \$20 for each case of ammunition he could obtain. The Silver Shirts were armed with rifles, pistols, and shotguns purchased from two corporals at the North Island Naval Base in San Diego, Hayes said. He had seen 2,000 rounds of ammunition and had heard that 12,000 more were kept in hidden reserve. He had also watched Silver Shirts drilling and had talked to Pelley about plans to overthrow the U.S. government.³⁹

Corporal E.T. Gray testified that the Silver Shirts wanted to establish a corporative state and remove Jews from public office, and he told of a plan for 200 Silver Shirts to converge on San Diego's city hall on May 1, 1934, and kill the undersheriff, a Jew. Gray claimed that U.S. Navy and Marine Corps forces had agreed to support the *putsch* and that the sheriff's office agreed with the aims of the Silver Shirts.⁴⁰ Other testimony asserted that Silver Shirts held target practice and military drills near San Diego and had 25,000 members throughout California. Sheriff Cooper of San Diego county

Pelley was arrested on an outstanding warrant when he appeared before the Dies committee. Here, a police officer books him at the Washington, D.C., police headquarters.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



and Chief Peterson of the San Diego police challenged this testimony, although they admitted that the Silver Shirts had held two meetings in the area.⁴¹ Meetings in California were said to attract five to six hundred people. Public hearings ended before the testimony was complete because, according to subcommittee counsel Volney Mooney, the nature of what was said was "poisonous."⁴²

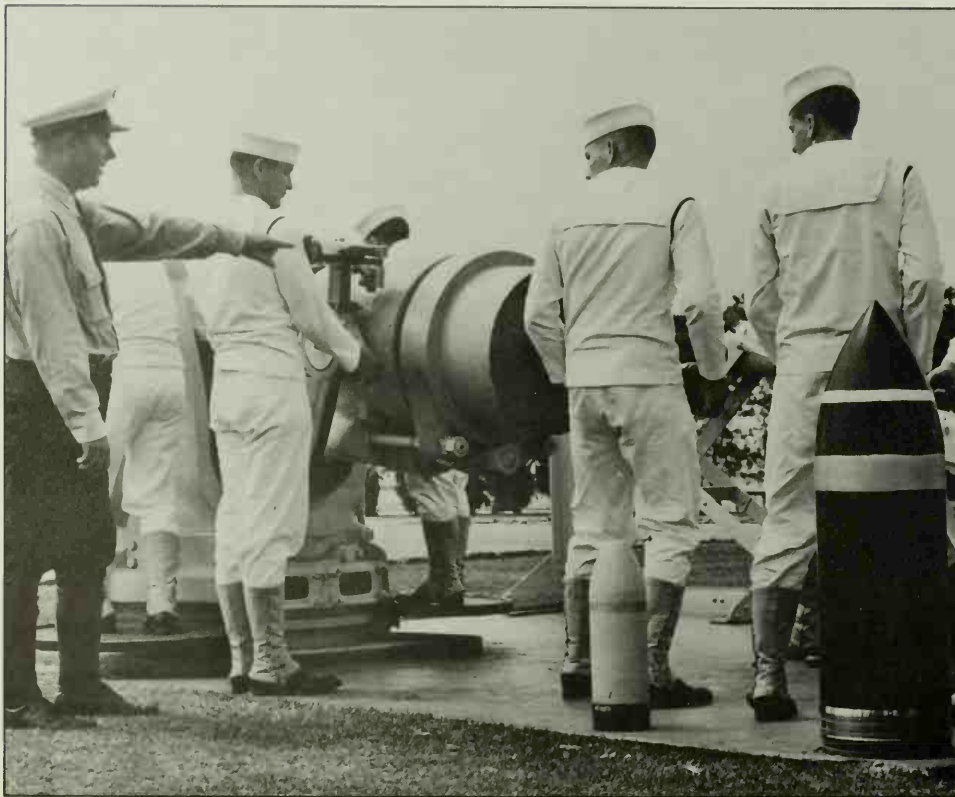
Pelley's most ardent apostle was Henry D. Allen, whose career in California had included two convictions for passing bad checks and terms in San Quentin and Folsom state prisons, where he was known as Prisoner 2853 and Prisoner 9542 respectively. Allen scattered his loyalties among various racist and fascist groups: the Silver Shirts, the Gold Shirts, the American White Guard, and the *Amerika-deutscher Volksbund*. He first encountered the Silver Shirts when he purchased a copy of *Liberation* from a vendor at Sixth and Hill streets in Los Angeles in the fall of 1933. Allen was already a regular visitor to the local headquarters of Friends of New Ger-

many, forerunner of the German-American Bund, at 1902 S. Alvarado Street. He soon joined Karl Lackey and Colonel W.A. McCord to organize a Los Angeles post of the Silver Shirts, which included Allen's wife and son. Silver Shirt meetings were held in conjunction with those of the German-American Bund at German House, 634 W. Fifteenth Street. As the featured speaker at one of these meetings, Pelley declared, "I am the Hitler of America," a statement he would repeat.⁴³

Allen dropped the Silver Shirts in 1934—at the same time Pelley's Galahad Press went bankrupt—to concentrate on the American White Guard, but he returned in 1936. In testimony before the Dies committee in 1939, Allen insisted that the Silver Shirts had been unable to rent auditoriums for their meetings in Los Angeles because they were fighting Jewish Communism, and the Jews owned all the meeting halls. However, Joseph Jeffers, pastor of Kingdom Temple, allowed a Silver Shirt recruiting film to be shown at his church, and Allen spoke at this

meeting on the "Cause of Communism."⁴⁴

In December, 1935, Pelley organized the Christian Party and prepared to run for president in 1936. As a prelude to this effort, he had published *Nations-In-Law*. Five years in the writing, the book represented Pelley's second vision of utopia, a nation run by those "without audacity or intellectual snobbery, [who] by the very essence of our knowledge . . . should consider ourselves as those in whose hands world progress is reposed." He added, "it is not for our feet alone but for the intellectually handicapped multitudes who follow where we lead."⁴⁵ *Nations-In-Law* characterized the New Deal administration of Franklin Roosevelt as under the control of Jews and their "clutch on organized Christendom."⁴⁶ It also praised "the Aryan, and particularly the Anglo-Saxon, [who] has carried in his blood from time immemorial the consciousness of his importance in and to the social structure."⁴⁷



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Naval recruits at the San Diego Naval Training Station in 1939. Intelligence agents had testified in 1934 that the Silver Shirts regularly purchased weapons from personnel at the San Diego naval installations.

With the Christian Party behind him, Pelley ran for president with W.W. Kemp, head of the Pacific Coast District of the Silver Shirts, as his running mate. The party's campaign slogans were "Christ or Chaos?" and "For Christ and Constitution"; its slate of electors listed individuals with "fine old American names," although Pelley reported that many German-Americans were also enthusiastic supporters. Pelley claimed in his campaign speeches that "the time has come for an American Hitler and a pogrom. When I'm President, I'll incorporate the Silver Shirts into a combination of Federal army and police force. I'm going to do away with the Department of Justice entirely. I am calling on every Gentile in these prostrate United States to form with me an overwhelming juggernaut, . . . for Christian government."⁴⁸ Organized in nine-man Councils of Safety, the party planned to grow by directing each member to form another council in an ongoing process. For six months it campaigned intensively from Pelley's headquarters in Se-

attle. Nonetheless, Washington was the lone state to allow the Christian Party on the ballot, and on November 3, 1936, only 1,598 of Washington's over 700,000 voters cast their ballots for Pelley.⁴⁹

In the following two years Pelley and the Silver Shirts drew little attention from the mainstream press. One item in the *Los Angeles Times* reported a Secret Service inquiry into Silver Shirt activities in Chicago. The *New York Daily News* devoted two-and-a-half pages to publishing the full text of a Pelley booklet, "Jews in Washington," along with Pelley's picture, and a three-column headline.⁵⁰ The *Saturday Evening Post* for May 27, 1937, however, carried an exclusive interview with Pelley by Stanley High, who reported that Pelley Publishers was turning out 30,000 pieces of high-quality literature per day. The pamphlets and full-sized books were "extraordinarily good typographical jobs, artistically bound and printed," wrote High, noting that Pelley obviously had money from some outside source which he declined to iden-

tify. Pelley told High that he expected violent action to overthrow the New Deal in the South, the Pacific Northwest, and California, areas where the Silver Shirts were strongest.⁵¹

The interview with High was one of the few Pelley granted during his lifetime. As a rule, he tried to avoid direct questioning, particularly that of congressional committees. Thus, in 1939 when a subcommittee chaired by Jerry Voorhis of California was charged with summoning Pelley to testify, it hired David Mayne, Pelley's Washington representative, to find him.⁵² Mayne was not successful. In testimony to the Dies committee in 1940, Mayne acknowledged that he had forged Pelley's signature to a number of letters which hinted that Dies approved of Pelley's campaign against Jews and communists. The letters implied that Dies had promised not to investigate the Silver Shirts thoroughly and, Mayne admitted, were a hoax intended to discredit Dies.⁵³

In February, 1940, the elusive Pel-



Pelley on his release from the federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana, on February 14, 1950.

ley made an unscheduled appearance before the Dies committee during which he said he had been approached by a representative of the German government after he founded the Silver Shirts. "Colonel" Edwin Emerson had offered Pelley ten dollars for each German he enrolled and set a target of 15,000 German members of the Silver Shirts, Pelley recounted. He had, he said, refused the offer and tried to discourage the Nazis. Pelley also told the committee that the FBI had investigated him in 1939, and he was under the impression that the bureau approved of his work. An FBI spokesman immediately denied the assertion.⁵⁴ Stating that there were 25,000 Silver Shirt members in twenty-two states in 1940, Pelley said he could disband the organization if the Dies committee continued its good work. Pelley considered himself a "forceful proselyte" without any vicious intent, since he used words, not violent deeds, to further his goals. He repeated that he was ready to be the Hitler of America, although he claimed that the Silver

Shirts were being disbanded.⁵⁵ The Dies committee also learned that the Silver Legion had received \$66,000 between September, 1937, and January, 1939.⁵⁶

Pelley's testimony to the Dies committee came six months after he had filed suit against it for \$3,150,000 in damages. He charged that the committee had "maliciously and without foundation publicly charged him with being a representative of the German government, a racketeer, a violator of the criminal statutes of the United States and a public enemy."⁵⁷ Pelley had also requested that the committee be restrained from investigating his personal activities. U.S. District Court Judge B. Yates Webb denied his request. Although his suit against the committee bore no fruit, his appearance before it did, for it enabled law enforcement officials to arrest him and return him to North Carolina for violating the terms of his 1935 sentence.

After a two-month recess, the Dies committee returned to the subject of Pelley and the Silver Shirts in April. One of the star witnesses was

Dorothy Waring, formerly a secret agent for the McCormack-Dickstein committee. Waring worked for "The Order of '76," another pro-Nazi organization, and knew Pelley. She told the committee that he carried two guns, had two bodyguards, and had worn his Silver Shirt uniform on a visit to her apartment. He had told her of plans for the Silver Shirts to march on Washington, D.C., and to have people in key positions of power in New York City. She concluded that he expected to be dictator of the United States.⁵⁸ Representative Samuel Dickstein testified that Pelley had told the 1934 hearings, which Dickstein co-chaired, that Pelley planned to take over the National Guard in all forty-eight states. Dickstein said guns and ammunition had been recovered from an armory in San Diego where they had been stored for use by the Silver Shirts. He also claimed the McCormack-Dickstein committee had evidence that Pelley had connections with the Ku Klux Klan, the Christian Mobilizers, the Christian Front, and the Crusaders.⁵⁹

In addition to the evidence gathered by the Dies committee, 1940 saw new documentation of links between Pelley, the Silver Shirts, and Nazi Germany in two books by former undercover agents. Richard Rollins, who had been an investigator for the McCormack-Dickstein committee, published copies of three letters on Silver Shirt letterhead which he had stolen from the offices of "The Order of '76." All three were labeled "Official Dispatch" and were signed by Paul Toal, Adjutant. The first was addressed to the Friends of New Germany. The second, addressed "Dear Chief," listed Toal's recent activities and wished Pelley well in his "Western Work." This letter, dated September 25, 1935, stated that the Friends of New Germany were not anxious to join with the Silver Shirts, but that Russian pacifists were. The third was to the "Order of '76" and verified the consolidation of that group with the Silver Shirts.⁶⁰

John Roy Carlson revealed in *Under Cover* another Pelley connection, this one to Gerald L.K. Smith, an associate of Huey Long and Father Coughlin. In an undated letter to Pelley quoted in the book, Smith wrote: "By the time you receive this letter, I shall be on the road to St. Louis and parts north together with a uniformed squad of young men composing what I believe will be the first Silver Shirt Storm troop in America."⁶¹ Another letter dated August 5, 1936, listed Smith's Silver Shirt membership number.⁶² Twenty years later, O. John Rogge's *The Official German Report* provided additional information that Pelley's name had appeared at the top of a German list of "National

Men in America" who could be expected to cooperate with the Nazis.⁶³

By the end of 1940, Pelley claimed to have disbanded the Silver Shirts and was publishing works on metaphysics and economics for businessmen under the name of the Fellowship Press in Indiana. Pelley stopped publishing *Liberation* and replaced it with two new magazines, *Roll Call*, "The Voice of the Loyal Opposition," and *The Galilean Magazine*.⁶⁴ Dies indicated that his committee would be interested in the new publications, and ultimately, Pelley's writings in *The Galilean* became the basis for one of the few sedition trials in American history.

In April, 1942, Pelley was arrested for insurrection and sedition. A twelve-count indictment was returned against him and the Fellowship Press on June 9, charging the publication of material whose purpose was the

*dissemination of false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies; and obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States by distributing certain publications to persons eligible for military service.*⁶⁵

The trial began on July 28 in Indianapolis, with Charles A. Lindbergh and Congressman Jacob Thorkelson subpoenaed as witnesses for the defense. Thorkelson, from Montana, had used his franking privilege to mail Nazi propaganda for George Sylvester Viereck, a German intelligence agent.⁶⁶ There is no direct evidence that he performed the same service for Pelley, but he had consulted and met with him. Lindbergh

had had no previous contact with Pelley or the Silver Shirts, but he was concerned that Pelley would not receive an impartial trial and that freedom of expression would be "improperly restricted, under the pressure and hysteria of war."⁶⁷ After seven days of testimony, the jury of farmers and small tradesmen returned a verdict of guilty on eleven counts.⁶⁸ Pelley was sentenced to fifteen years in the federal penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana; he served ten. He unsuccessfully appealed his conviction three times over the next thirteen years.

Pelley did not change the American constitutional system, nor did he achieve any of his stated goals. On the national scene, he was overshadowed by Huey Long and Father Coughlin. Even in Southern California, Aimee Semple McPherson and Upton Sinclair had more charisma and were able to attract far broader support than was Pelley. Yet, because he and the Silver Shirts were vocal and visible early in the decade, they attracted those who were easily influenced by hate, fear, and prejudice. Pelley's Silver Legion did not become a refuge for throngs of people caught in the worst depression in American history. The public wanted change, but not through the methods of a paramilitary organization.

After his release from prison in 1952, Pelley lived in Noblesville, Indiana, until his death in 1965,⁶⁹ a man forgotten as a defendant in one of the rare sedition trials in United States history and as an influence in California during the 1930s. □

See notes beginning on page 155.

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The Archaeology of California.

By Joseph L. Chartkoff and Kerry Kona Chartkoff. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984; xix, 456 pp., \$32.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Albert B. Elsasser, *Associate Research Anthropologist (ret.) at the R.H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley.*

Whenever two books with nearly identical titles are published in the same year, it is almost inevitable that in reviewing either one, certain pointed comparisons will be made with the other. In the present instance M.J. Moratto's *California Archaeology*: (Academic Press 1984) is the volume to be set against that of the Chartkoffs. Even though these two books cover roughly the same material, readers of both will probably not come away with any notions about serious overlapping or dull repetition. Unlike Moratto's, the Chartkoffs' book does not attempt any sort of encyclopedic treatment of the data. This may be reflected in the number of bibliographic entries: Moratto's 1900 against less than 500 in the Chartkoffs'.

Most of Moratto's efforts were directed, with the aid of three chapter contributions by archaeological colleagues, toward summarizing the work of practically every writer who has ever done any formal archaeological field work in California. This is emphasized in the presentation of numerous chronological concordance charts throughout his volume. In contrast, the Chartkoffs have essayed a more abbreviated account of California prehistory, with relatively few concordance charts, and have included a substantial compass of historical archaeology as well. With this approach, they have created an eminently readable "popular" synthesis. It is noted in their preface that this is one of their goals—surely they have admirably succeeded

in bringing forth a book of broad general appeal.

There is no obvious evidence that anything resembling mutual consultation took place during the writing of these two volumes; each stands equally well without reference to the other.

In the Chartkoffs' work, at the head of each chapter on their four main chronological periods (PaleoIndian, Archaic, Pacific and Historical) there is a hypothetical description of the everyday lives of the people. This is based on archaeological data, but use of such a homely device serves at once to establish the uniqueness of each period as well as the underlying cultural continuity between them. It therefore enhances the feeling of unity in the story as a whole. Further emphasis on this unity is reflected in the authors' practically eschewing detailed descriptions of the sometimes bewildering display of archaeological complexes, phases, subperiods, or horizons, for example, which have been the stock in trade of most California archaeologists. In only one table (Table 3) is this multiplicity suggested. Otherwise the concept of "Tradition" has been employed as the chief means of categorizing their data on the complex of artifacts, features and site characteristics of each time period. They select a limited number of important traditions from each time period to illustrate the development of the prehistoric record.

The method of summarizing data by use of comparatively large units (traditions) serves to avoid or minimize lengthy treatments of numbers of controversies which seem either unresolvable or at least extremely slow in resolution. These conflicts may refer to such elements as mere nomenclature or may include varying interpretations of data by different authors. Presently, for example, there are several different ideas concerning the early settlement of the San Francisco Bay region—these are only lightly touched upon by the Chartkoffs. Moratto, on the other hand, and

especially in a chapter on linguistic prehistory, gives fairly full coverage to the Bay Region controversy and to others concerning movements of prehistoric cultures in Central California. Authors of both books discuss the Pinto Basin (Tradition/Phase/Complex) in the prehistory of the Southern California desert region, but again the Chartkoffs' presentation must here be considered abbreviated, especially when compared to the detailed analysis by contributor Claude Warren in the Moratto volume.

Of the two books, the Chartkoffs' has devoted far more space than its counterpart to historical archaeology. They have emphasized that, despite the massive literature on California history as a whole, there has heretofore been a possible neglect or overlooking of certain significant aspects of history which can profitably be illuminated by methods of archaeological excavation.

The Chartkoffs have been reasonably cautious in the beginning of their account in accepting data concerning the numerous archaeological finds allegedly dating to more than about 12,000 years ago. Nevertheless, they have given these early times relatively full coverage, so that no part of the extremely long record of Indian occupation in California, possibly going back to more than 20,000 years ago and extending to the present century, is neglected.

The volume contains seven valuable appendices, pertaining to such matters as the history of archaeology in California, archaeological museums, and films on California archaeology. It is handsomely produced, well illustrated, and practically unmarred by typographical errors in the text, although two notable anthropologists, Harold E. Driver and Richard K. Beardsley are referred to in the bibliography as Philip (Driver) and Robert (Beardsley).

A final, general assessment of the two books suggests that, though Moratto's work will be the one most widely consulted by students of archaeology looking for comprehensive summaries, the

Chartkoffs' book will be attractive to a greater variety of readers who may be looking for a compact, yet more-than-sufficiently informative overview of the subject. □

Spain's Colonial Outpost.

By John A. Schutz. (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1985, 126 pp., \$6.95 paper.)

Reviewed by David J. Weber, Professor and Chairman of the Department of History at Southern Methodist University in Dallas and author of books on California and the Southwest which include The Mexican Frontier, 1821—1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico (1982) and Richard H. Kern: Expeditionary Artist in the Far Southwest, 1848—1853 (1985).

John Schutz, Professor of History at the University of Southern California, chronicles the history of Spanish California in brief compass—even briefer than the 106 pages of his text would suggest. In a discursive opening chapter, Schutz ruminates about Anglo-American enthusiasm for Hispanic California and its monuments. In chapter 2, Schutz begins to reconstruct the Spanish period, working his way slowly and somewhat obliquely toward the settlement of Alta California in 1769. Not until chapter 3, nearly a third of the way through the book, does Father Serra reach San Diego and Spanish settlement of Alta California begin. Schutz's consideration of Spanish California extends through chapter 6, but he then strays beyond the subject by devoting all of chapter 7 to the secularization of the missions in the Mexican period, when California no longer served as "Spain's Colonial Outpost."

Such asides might not detract from a larger work, but in the *Golden State Series* (of which Schutz is coeditor) space is at a premium and Schutz's errors of commission probably contributed to his sins

of omission. The title of his book notwithstanding, he has not placed California firmly in the context of the Spanish empire. When he describes, for example, the quarrels between church and civil officials in California, he provides the reader with no sense that such intramural squabbles were endemic to Spain's empire and not unique to California. Although he mentions the Yuma revolt of 1781, he fails to explain its significance for California's short term development. Nor does he explain the economic situation of the *californios*. Today's residents of California, Schutz notes, "rightly ask why the Spanish did not perceive then what has now made California the most populous state in the American union" (p. 117). Unfortunately, Schutz does not provide the answer.

Although "California's Hispanic Settlers" are the subject of a good chapter, Schutz would clearly count himself among those Californians for whom "the heroes of the Spanish era are the Franciscan missionaries" (p. 106). He notes the appalling death rates among mission Indians and he quotes contemporary criticism of the padres' techniques for maintaining Indians in missions. In the end, however, there can be no mistaking where Schutz's sympathies lie. He describes missionized Indians in San Diego as a "proud, boastful, quarrelsome group" (p. 46) and he offers no further explanation for their revolt in 1775 against the Spanish intruders. "Happily," Schutz notes on another occasion, "the California Indians were not aggressive" (p. 66). Assuming that Schutz is correct, "happily" for whom?

Volumes in this series are meant to be "interpretive rather than definitive," but "the student, the scholar, and the teacher," for whom the series is explicitly designed, deserve interpretations based on the best and most up-to-date sources. Here Schutz does not inspire confidence. For example, although he refers to critics of the mission system he does not point his readers toward the recent literature—fascinating articles by

Robert Archibald, Francis Guest, and Robert Heizer. Schutz devotes considerable space to the secularization of the missions, but he fails to cite the standard work by Gerald Geary and he apparently made no use of the significant and more recent articles by C. Alan Hutchinson, Manuel Servin, Daniel Garr, and George Phillips.

Weak in conception, analysis, and research, *Spain's Colonial Outpost* fails to redeem itself with felicitous prose. How can one recommend a book that employs such transition sentences as "a break in California history occurred near 1800" (p. 53), or that describes Indians as "restless" on at least four occasions? □

California and the American Tax Revolt: Proposition 13 Five Years Later.

By Terry Schwadron and Paul Richter. Introduction by Jack Citrin. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. iv, 194 pp., appendix 53 pp., \$6.95 paper, \$19.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gregory H. Tilles, instructor of history and political science at Solano Community College, Suisun City, and Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill.

On June 6, 1978, amid extreme predictions of both disaster and prosperity for the state, the voters of California decisively approved Proposition 13. The full impact of this historic initiative, hailed as the beginning of the California "tax revolt," is yet to be determined.

In January, 1983, the Los Angeles *Times* embarked on an energetic project to ascertain the state of the state five years after Proposition 13. The result of this effort was a nine-part series published by the newspaper in June, 1983. This series, in turn, became the basis for *California and the American Tax Revolt*, an impressive compilation of statistical data, interviews with public officials and

private citizens, and tentative but valuable conclusions which demonstrate that both the doomsayers and optimists of 1978 were often mistaken. Indeed, as the *Times* study shows, there has been life after Proposition 13, albeit life characterized by a mixture of new—often unexpected—problems and benefits for California's public and private sectors.

Early in the project, the *Times* retained the services of statistician Kevin Bacon of Price Waterhouse to develop, along with staff of the Los Angeles *Times* poll, an extensive survey of local government response to the initiative slashing the property tax. Bacon, who in 1981 had conducted a major study of Proposition 13 for the California Legislature, helped the *Times* senior editorial staff achieve its initial goal of establishing a firm quantitative information base for its series. In spite of such problems as incomplete and often inaccurate government data and severe time constraints, the Bacon-led survey provided a wealth of statistical information reflecting the impact of Proposition 13 on a variety of local services from law enforcement and fire protection to education, street and road repair, and park and recreation operations. These data are presented in the appendix to *California and the American Tax Revolt* in substantial detail which, while likely burdensome for the general reader, does reflect the immense scale and solid methodology of the undertaking.

After compiling its statistical findings, the *Times* assembled a team of eighteen reporters under series editor Terry Schwadron and principal writer Paul Richter "to put the statistics in a human context." The bulk of *California and the American Tax Revolt* contains the fruit of their efforts—a journalistically sound assortment of articles and interviews, punctuated by useful graphs and charts, under such titles as "Winners in the Tax Revolt" and "The Effect on Individuals." Of particular interest here is Chapter 3's examination of the impact of Proposition 13 on public primary, secondary, and

higher education and the study's conclusion that the popular notion that the initiative has had a devastating effect on California public education has been significantly overstated.

An invaluable supplement to the *Times* study is the present book's introductory essay by Jack Citrin. The Berkeley political scientist's contribution provides the newspaper's effort with important cohesion, context, and interpretation. Citrin devotes major attention to charting the course of the tax revolt nationwide. Most notably, he finds similar backgrounds and public and private consequences in California's Proposition 13 and the 1980 Massachusetts property tax initiative labeled Proposition 2½. Citrin also attempts to assess the current state of California public opinion on taxes and government spending, and he raises the provocative question of the future of the tax revolt. He concludes that a majority of Californians still favor cutting services to increasing taxes to meet budget deficits, and they continue to say yes when asked, "Would you vote for Proposition 13 today?"

California and the American Tax Revolt admirably represents the most thorough attempt since 1978 to determine the meaning and impact of Proposition 13. Since it is much too early to render a final verdict on this historic initiative, this book is not a definitive study. It does provide, however, a major resource for students of California seeking understanding specifically of Proposition 13 and generally of the workings of direct democracy and the initiative process. □

The Outer Coast.

By Richard Batman. (San Diego, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1985, xvi, 384 pp., \$18.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by John A. Schutz, Professor of History at the University of Southern California and author of Spain's Colonial Outpost: California.

Everyone who enjoys armchair travels will like Richard Batman's *The Outer Coast*, which narrates the exciting adventures of men who helped bring California to world attention long before the American acquisition and long before the gold rush. If one will permit the author to take him along the sealanes with James Cook, George Vancouver, Ebenzer Dorr, and Joe O'Cain and over land by the routes of Junípero Serra, Daniel Boom, and Jedediah Smith, he will share breath-taking tales of distant places and vivid experiences of trappers, fishermen, missionaries, and settlers who lived near or on the coast rim for about a century from 1769. The author's story is about foreigners and their impact upon the West. "I have also attempted to convey a sense of how it felt to be directly involved in these events [of exploration], how it felt to live on the Outer Coast which, at that time, was on the very edge of the world."

Batman plainly loves a good story painted in bold strokes and peopled with heroes. In beginning his story, he links men like Captain Cook, Daniel Boom, and Junípero Serra in a common adventure; Cook and Boom did not reach California, but on a large canvas they were pathfinders for those who would soon open up the Pacific lanes and the hemispheric trails. Others would extend those travels and touch the California coast. Father Serra arrived in California by land in 1769 and would live there for the rest of his life, except for nearly a year that he spent traveling to Mexico City to seek redress of grievances with California officials. Fermín de Lasuén, his successor, would live in California even longer than he did. Their impact upon the Indians in the mission system was both good and bad, but the friars, settlers, and soldiers who came with them laid the basis for a Spanish outpost in a land that was once occupied solely by Indians. Joining Cook, Boom, and Serra makes a fine opening for a great story about this Spanish land, but is it truly historical or is it artistry?

While this association of travelers illustrates the forces that brought California into world view, the details of the adventures in California are often disappointing because they are frequently mundane. The contrast between the spaciousness of the area explored and the plodding of the travelers after they have arrived is disenchanting. Serra crossed a continent to California, driven often by religious zeal, but his activities in California recorded in this book hide his greatness as a missionary pioneer. Batman, nonetheless, has given us a powerful, well written account of many adventurers who came to the Pacific. He offers also a bibliography for readers interested in additional information and a few illustrations that include three maps. □

From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West.

By Donald J. Pisani. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, xiii, 521 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Lawrence J. Jelinek, *Associate Professor of History at Loyola Marymount University and author of Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture.*

Donald J. Pisani has written an impressive history of the irrigation movement in California from 1850 to 1931. The author's overview focuses upon the history of "the rural American dream" within the Golden State. Throughout most of this period, irrigation development was seen as the most important reform means for ending land monopoly. Irrigation would create an egalitarian class of efficient farmers. By the 1920s, however, Pisani believes most Californians saw their state's progress in terms of natural and historic exceptionalism rather than as the result of transplanted traditions. Within this milieu, large-scale specialty

crop growers seized irrigation development from the family farm dreamers and used it to erect the foundations of California agribusiness.

Pisani's analysis of the irrigation crusade is comprehensively researched and well organized. This is a significant achievement. The strength of this book is that it clarifies the changing dimensions of the issues without getting mired in the formidable complexities endemic to irrigation history.

At the outset, we are reminded that popular fear over irrigation's impact upon soils and the public health made many view irrigated agriculture as a nightmare. Mistrust of individual schemers and dreamers, government, and land and water companies was an additional obstacle. Pisani then takes us through the myriad contradictions within state and federal water law, the early struggles between miners and farmers, public versus private ownership, local and regional versus state-wide planning, state versus federal planning, and, finally, reclamation for irrigation versus multiple use. The book concludes with the adoption of the State Water Plan of 1931. The result of decades of evolution, the plan promised a comprehensive and efficient water system. Pisani, however, argues that it was more a political "scheme" than it was a scientific plan.

For Pisani, the 1920s represent a "turning point" in California agriculture. The state's boosters now concluded that while agriculture would remain the keystone to California's economy, the family farm was no longer necessary or even desirable. In "modern California," the Common Man should be an urban worker. The flurry of water planning in the 1920s that resulted in the State Water Plan reflected this new order. The family farm became "the lost dream."

Pisani's conclusion is the least clearly argued part of the book. He asserts rather than demonstrates that the crusaders abandoned the family farm dream in the name of California excep-

tionism. In my judgment, what he actually demonstrates is that the older crusaders became pessimistic about the dream because agricultural consolidation and urbanization were both national and California trends. They suspended the dream because they could not overcome two problems. They could not devise a practical means by which state government could enact the dream. Elwood Mead's government sponsored colony plan was alluring but had proven troublesome, and after 1917, too controversial. The more important problem was that the crusaders became committed to state-wide water planning as the first priority. To achieve it, they had to overcome rampant sectionalism and to provide water and power to urban users as well. Attaining their goal was a doubtful enterprise at best. They soon realized that state-wide water planning could be achieved without additional family farms, but not without the support of sectional, urban, and agribusiness leaders. In the 1920s, the dream had not lost its intellectual integrity to these older crusaders, it had lost its political leverage. Intellectual abandonment was centered among the younger crusaders, for whom exceptionalism was in vogue, and among the technocrats needed for big projects. □

Art in the San Francisco Bay Area.

By Thomas Albright. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 349 pp., \$60.00 cloth, \$29.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Marvin Nathan, *Professor of Humanities at San Francisco State University and author of numerous articles on San Francisco art, architecture, and literature in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.*

Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century explained that "reality" was actually a construct of the human imagination giving order and symbolic meaning to

the various data which we receive through our senses. Though this great Kantian insight seems as ordinary to us today as Renaissance perspective or seventeenth century scientific method, it reveals in the clearest possible terms the task of the true scholar. For it is the scholar's singular charge to enter into worlds previously uncharted and undefined, inchoate worlds of human action and expression, and give them a sense of order and symbolic significance to his own cultural audience. The most exciting examples of this imaginative scholarly ordering are performed by those minds which are most intense, most honest and most seriously committed to understanding their subject in all its dimensions and resonances. The late Thomas Albright had such a mind, which helps explain why his posthumously published *Art in the San Francisco Bay Area 1945-1980* is so engaging and enlightening a work. The force of Albright's treatment and the depth of his understanding of this local artistic universe helps confirm the Bay Area tradition as significant cultural experience.

The genesis of the book was in a series of lectures that Albright gave in 1974 on post-World War II art in the San Francisco Bay Area at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Expanding and updating these lectures with material from his own writings during 27 years as art critic for *The San Francisco Chronicle*, magazine articles, exhibit catalogues, and personal interviews with and letters from Bay Area artists and observers of the local art scene, Albright put together a remarkably thorough, often inspired piece of social and artistic history. What is perhaps most impressive is his comprehensive vocabulary of critical terms to explain and evaluate a body of modern art which, as his successor at *The Chronicle* recently stated in reference to a painting by Richard Diebenkorn, often "defies analysis."

Albright's book putatively covers the time span from 1945 to 1980. It actually begins much earlier with a brief but perceptive history of Bay Area art in the

early twentieth century and continues on into the 1980s. But the major emphasis falls on the period from 1946 and the rise of Abstract Expressionism to the later 1960s when, in the author's view, a period of undistinguished pluralism arose during which no major creators have emerged and styles have been marked by "academic and professional sanitization." The term "Art" in the book's title refers almost wholly to painting and sculpture (including assemblage and ceramics); other media such as architecture, landscape design, photography and film are not seriously treated.

Though Albright uses innumerable footnotes, other scholarly trappings such as a bibliography and a much-needed glossary of technical terms are missing. Also his earlier chapters tend to be rather more profound and coherent in their analysis than the later ones, which may have to do with the difficulties of evaluating history so recent that it cannot yet be placed properly in perspective.

Yet despite any unevenness, omissions or other shortcomings one might find in it, *Art in the San Francisco Bay Area* is a marvelous book. Albright asserts that the Bay Area has "a genius of place." He is equally forthright about his underlying historical and critical assumptions. "Art always grows out of attitudes that are shaped not only by art history but by the more general cultural and political currents of the times, even as the finest works of art manage to transcend them." "I have tried to convey a sense of the multi-layered texture of events, and to balance the emphasis on supposed forms, which dominates most art-historical thinking, with a sense of the inner movements of which forms are only the shadow. I have also tried to keep constantly in view the broader currents of cultural history, for which these forms are frequently the most sensitive barometers . . ." Within this large cultural context, "we should not forget that an artist's real biography is to be found in his or her own work, and that any history is at best a fragmentary approximation."

In this complex of assumptions about art as both cultural product and inner life of the artist, as well as the critic's moral obligation to question artistic motive and the relationship of any work of art to its audience, Albright sets forth the methodology to which his book is anchored. Chapters begin with general discussions of social movements and historical trends in the nation and the Bay Area which are related to the styles to be dealt with in the chapter. Then individual artists are discussed as examples of various movements or "schools." Albright produces a great deal of biographical material including artists' cultural roots, schooling, important teachers, artistic and philosophical influences, social or artistic circles, important exhibits and stylistic evolution. He thus provides, along with his esthetic commentary, a running history of Bay Area galleries, museum shows, art schools, journals, Bohemian meeting places, artistic social interaction, and of the economics of the local art world. Albright then analyzes one or more works of the particular artist. Although he tends to be more critically balanced in his appraisal of general styles or collective movements than in particular works (and he is hypercritical of certain movements such as Conceptualism and Photo Realism), much of his individual esthetic criticism is dazzling in its perception and impressive in its richness of language. Chapters end with general appraisals of the styles and movements previously discussed and an attempt to relate them to what came before and what was to follow.

Pursuing this general pattern, Albright guides the reader on a pleasurable voyage through early Modernism, Abstract Expressionism, Bay Area Figurative art, Funk art in the fifties, Pop art, Formalism, Psychedelic and Visionary art, Conceptualism, and Photo Realism in the sixties and seventies. He takes us inside the walls of seminal schools like the California School of Fine Arts (now the San Francisco Art Institute) to witness the philosophical and political

battles of the forties and fifties when Abstract Impressionism was overturning traditional canons of the art world right and left. He shows us underground galleries like Metart and Six Gallery in their heyday as purveyors of subversive new artistic values. We meet major figures like the fiercely individualistic and moralistic Clyfford Stills (the "hero" of the book), Mark Rothko, Hassel Smith, David Park, Elmer Bischoff, Richard Diebenkorn, Bruce Conner, Robert Arneson, William Wiley, Robert Bechtle, Wayne Thiebaud, and Wilfried Sätty. And we also encounter many fascinating figures less well known outside the local art world such as Frank Lobdell, Jay De Feo and James Budd Dixon. Those artists that Albright is unable to treat in his text are included in a massive biographical appendix at the end including over 700 names and over 600 thumbnail biographies. This section alone represents a contribution of the first order to the history of modern art in the Bay Area.

The book, published only in paper edition, is printed on high quality paper. The cover design is stylish as is the makeup of the text. There are 233 illustrations (many whole page), 115 of them in exquisitely accurate color. Titles and chapter headings are done in an enlarged version of the author's own cursive. This finely crafted book provides a fitting form for content of such range and excellence of mind. □

Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity and the Growth of the American West.

By Donald Worster. (New York, Pantheon Books, 1985, 402 pp., \$24.95.)

Reviewed by William Kahrl, author of California Water Atlas and Water and Power: the Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley.

In *Rivers of Empire* Donald Worster an-

swers the noblest of historical impulses: to bring order to the whole messy business of human affairs; or if not that, to define a recurrent pattern; or failing there, at least to detect some strand of logic in a specific sequence of events. To attempt even the last is ambitious. To try to make sense of western water development is probably folly. But that is his intent, and though I believe the subject ultimately defeats him, his daring deserves applause.

This is basically a work of three parts. It starts as one of those books of Big Ideas. Worster fastens upon a fundamental insight by an obscure and largely discredited anthropologist, Karl Wittfogel, who argued that the authority of the ancient Oriental despots derived from their control of water. From this Worster extracts the principle that the manipulation of nature transforms a society, that the effort itself imposes a certain structure upon the community that undertakes it.

By their waterworks ye shall know them, then, is the watchword for the first section of the book. Alexis de Tocqueville said the same thing about prisons; Oliver Wendell Holmes about due process; Jean Luc Godard about movies. It doesn't really matter which thread you catch hold of in books of this kind as long as the author is skillful enough to follow it consistently. The reader can sit back for one of those grand, over-arching intellectual discourses that will link widely divergent cultures and eras into a single interpretive framework and cast our contemporary problems into a new, more resonant light.

After distinguishing early subsistence cultures and more sophisticated agrarian states, the book in its second part settles down to trace the development of the American West into what Worster defines as the modern hydraulic society. When somebody sets out to recapitulate more than a hundred years of events in seventeen very different and fiercely competitive western states in a little more than two hundred pages, you have to grant the author a lot of license to pick

out the moments and personalities that will tend to illustrate his theme. It is important, of course, whether the survey is truthful or accurately representative of the whole. But one's reaction to the individual parts of such a review is essentially a matter of taste.

By my lights, Worster does a good job of elevating Mary Austin's elegies for the American desert to their proper place in western writing, but he seems hopelessly confused by John Wesley Powell's vision for the future of the Colorado River. He is sometimes unnecessarily critical of Elwood Mead, who led the Bureau of Reclamation into its greatest hour during the New Deal. And he is excellent in pointing out both the dependency of modern agribusiness upon the creation of a serf class and why Carey McWilliams and John Steinbeck misread the nature of that dependency. But as I say, these are all legitimate areas for dispute and certainly do not undercut the validity of the book.

Worster runs into trouble when he gets to his punchline, the end result of his historic evolution, what he calls the capitalist state. As it turns out, what distinguishes this new system from the subsistence and agrarian models of hydraulic society is that the capitalist state seeks to promote the accumulation of personal wealth through the complete subjugation of natural water systems. Well, that's fine but it doesn't advance our understanding very far. It is not particularly revealing because the agencies responsible for building up the modern western water system have always trumpeted their devotion to these twin objectives. More important, these characteristics do not arise intrinsically from the process of hydraulic management, as Worster first promised they would. Rather, they are values shared by the American commonwealth as a whole which were imposed, *a priori* if you will, upon the development of the western states. Worster has a lot to say about what's wrong with capitalist modes of operation, primarily because he believes

that wealth and democracy are anathematic. Logically, I suppose he is correct, but that tension is really the wonder of American history, that two such apparently incompatible ideas have coexisted for two hundred years in fashioning the success of our republic.

The last section of the book is a commentary on current conditions in the West. As with everything else in this book, the argument is well-formulated and thought-provoking. Here Worster essentially concedes that the problem with his original intention for the book consists in the fact that western society has evolved beyond what he expected to be its endpoint. With the era of major waterworks development apparently and irrevocably at an end in the western states, we have become what Worster describes as a post-hydraulic society. And he doesn't seem to have the patience left to try to describe what that may mean.

If Worster fails here to accomplish all that he set out to do, he does so for the best of reasons. He means to write an intensely critical analysis and there is real anger in this book at the deceit, injustice, and failed ideals which have been so much a part of the growth of the West. But he is too honest an observer not to admit that the things he truly hates are not quite as bad as he might have wished. Agribusiness has grown rich on taxpayer subsidies, it is true, but the power of this agrarian oligarchy is not complete and rarely extends beyond the range of its own drainage ditches. The success of western land corporations in getting other people to pay for their expansion depends ultimately upon the consent of the governed. The people can still vote down a Peripheral Canal. Congress has not approved any new water projects since 1972. And the realities of the international marketplace have inexorably undercut any claim for the further expansion of western agriculture.

Worster's efforts to delineate what is wrong with our hydraulic society recalls de Tocqueville's struggle to define the

threat of totalitarianism inherent in democracy. What he is describing remains only one of several potential possibilities, not yet an actuality. □

Western Americana in the California State Library.

Edited by Gary E. Strong and Gary F. Kurutz. (Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1985, \$6.95 paper.)

Reviewed by William Roberts, university archivist of the University of California.

The California State Library Foundation has published in the last few years a number of useful works describing library collections in the state, particularly those of the State Library. The latest of these, *Western Americana in the California State Library*, was largely inspired by the background work done for the exhibit of "Great Western Illustrated Books from Catlin to Curtis" assembled for the 1985 meeting of the Western History Association in Sacramento.

The major State Library collections covered by the guide are the California Section, the Government Publications Section, the General Collection, and the Law Library, with a final note on how to use the State Library. Each section is helpfully broken down into various categories, mainly by format or type of material, which enables the reader to make sense of the detailed information presented.

Information on the California Section is presented in several parts: books, periodicals, newspapers, maps, photographs, paintings and prints (inexplicably omitted from the table of contents), manuscripts, ephemera, special files and indexes, and guides and collection summaries. The range and scope of these various materials are presented in a combination of general description and specific examples. The manuscripts section consists in part of Thomas M. Fante's list of collections which appeared in

News Notes of California Libraries (V. 74:1, 1979) with additions to bring it up to date. Some of the most interesting information on the California Section is contained in the description of the ephemera collections and of the special files and indexes. The extensive collections of ephemeral materials gathered and categorized by the Library provide fascinating and little explored documentation of the State's history, and this description is welcome. The special files are also of great interest: the information file, San Francisco newspaper index, the various biographical and vital records files are all an incomparable resource for researchers, a resource not duplicated elsewhere in the state.

The Government Publications Section describes publications of the Federal Government, California State publications, those of other western states, local government publications, and maps. The General Collection description is divided into books, periodicals (perhaps the list is too long), and newspapers. These also contain useful descriptions of the collections, both of California and non-California materials, and they give an excellent idea of the scope of the collections. Since the State Library has been collecting since its establishment in 1850, it contains an impressive collection of western materials, both in monograph and periodical form, as well as many national periodicals of the 19th Century which routinely contained articles relating to California and the West.

The Law Library contains materials on Spanish law and its impact on early California, including materials on the Spanish and Mexican land grants, California statutes, codes, and court briefs, city and county codes, ordinances and charters, and a brief indication of the range of non-California materials in the collection.

In addition to the attention given to special files and indexes in the California Section, there is similar mention of such files when they exist in other sections as well. This is perhaps even more useful

to prospective users of the Library than mention of specific works.

The *Guide* is nicely printed in two columns on colored stock and lavishly illustrated for a work of this kind. The two column format and the use of a rather large type are designed to render the detailed text easily readable; unfortunately the use of a contemporary typeface, with its several peculiarities more suited to today's advertising, hinders rather than helps. Many pages have a quite uneven appearance, since the italic font does not have the same weight as the font used in the main part of the text. There are a few unfortunate typographical errors, especially in the text for the California Section.

Despite these few detractions, the booklet remains a sound introduction to one of the major resource collections in the state for the study of the history of California and the West.

Many researchers know, at least in general, of the holdings of the California Section, but possibly have not been aware of the riches to be found in other parts of the State Library's collections. The guide deserves wide attention and certainly should be on the reference shelves of libraries serving historians of California and the West. □

Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region.

By Sandy Lydon. (Capitola: Capitola Book Co., 1985, xv, 550 pp., \$18.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Linda Pomerantz, Professor of History and chairperson of the History Department at California State University, Dominguez Hills. She specializes in modern Chinese history and has written about Chinese and Korean immigrants in the United States.

This beautifully produced, handsomely illustrated and intelligently written book greatly adds to our understanding of the important role played by Chinese

in nineteenth century California. It is a pleasure to read. Mr. Lydon's effort goes a long way toward righting a long-standing historical injustice in providing recognition to the Chinese of the Monterey Bay Area for their efforts and sacrifices in developing the area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Chinese left their mark on virtually every aspect of economic life in the Monterey Bay region, from the fishing industry, to the construction of the region's rail system, and the development of agriculture and lumbering. Mr. Lydon shows us the Chinese of the area as genuine pioneers whose tenaciousness, courage, inventiveness and intelligence transformed the landscape. This was the "gold" of the title: using land, resources and products that the whites viewed as valueless to create wealth.

In order to survive in the hostile social environment of the times, the Chinese had to work the fringes, so to speak, finding areas of enterprise where they did not directly compete with whites. To do otherwise was hazardous to life and property. This theme is illustrated again and again in Mr. Lydon's fine narrative and points to the fact that in many ways this story is a melancholy one indeed.

Throughout the Monterey Bay region Chinese were persecuted in a variety of ways, gross as well as subtle, and excluded from genuine participation in the rewards of society until well into the twentieth century. As a consequence of the anti-Chinese movement (which was most virulent in the city of Santa Cruz) and the workings of discriminatory legislation the Chinese communities of the region dwindled in the twentieth century and the Chinese were driven from the area. This was most dramatic in 1906 when the Chinese village at Point Alones burned down and the Pacific Improvement Company prevented the Chinese from returning to the site that had been an important fishing village for over fifty years.

Mr. Lydon has made a great effort to revise the misleading and condescend-

ing stereotypes of Chinese in California as passive victims of persecution. He shows them as engaged in active resistance. This is an important corrective, but it should not obscure the tragic quality of this story of the victimization of a large population and its virtual obliteration from the chronicles of the region.

Mr. Lydon's book is essentially a work of local history, and as such displays the strengths of that approach but also some of its weaknesses. One wishes that there were more information about linkages of various sorts. One important linkage is among the sub-locales that form the Monterey Bay region. The main focal points of the book are the Chinese communities of Monterey (Point Alones), Santa Cruz, Watsonville's Brooklyn, and to a lesser degree the Salinas/Castroville area. These mini-regions are all distinct economically and politically; naturally the roles played by Chinese in these locales differed considerably as well. The book would have been strengthened had Mr. Lydon showed us more explicitly the ways these communities were interconnected with each other and to the outside world.

Similarly, it would have been wonderful to have made more clear how these communities were linked economically, politically, and culturally to Chinese communities in San Francisco and abroad, and to have more information about commercial and other networks to which the Monterey Bay area Chinese were linked.

Finally, one feels a need for more information about how these Chinese were linked to important minority groups who preceded and followed them, such as Californios, Mexicans and other Asian migrants such as Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos and Indians.

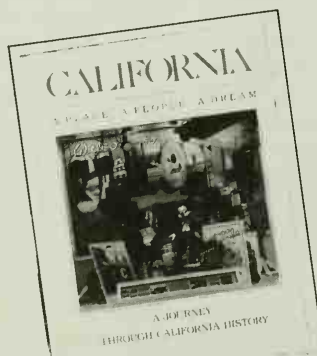
Mr. Lydon has done an admirable job in reconstructing much of the life of the Chinese in the Monterey region through a rich variety of sources, including impressive archival materials. These materials yield a great deal of information about the economic life of the Chinese,

and to some extent their political life, but it is much more difficult to reconstruct the interior world of the Chinese, especially in the nineteenth century. This is a problem that all historians of the Chinese in America face to some degree. Much of the more intimate information in *Chinese Gold* was derived from

numerous interviews with old timers, but in spite of these interviews, the reliance upon local history materials, all of which are in English and to one degree or another reflect the interests and preoccupations of the dominant white community, of necessity limit the scope and insight of this account.

In spite of these last comments, I highly recommend this book to those interested in California history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and view it as a valuable addition to the literature on the history of the Chinese in the United States. □

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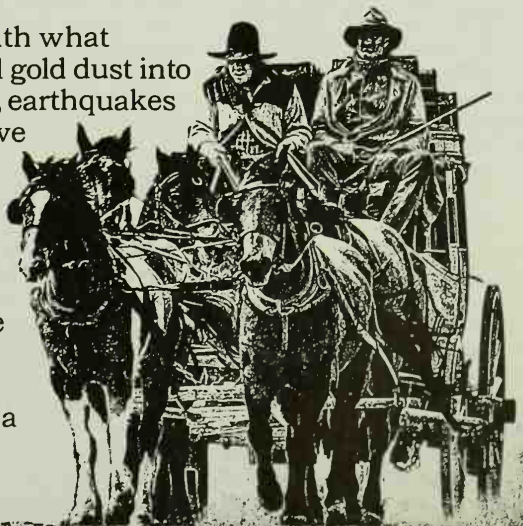
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Adams, Ansel. *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography*. With Mary Street Alinder. A New York Graphic Society Book. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1985. \$50.00. Order from: New York Graphic Society Books; 34 Beacon Street; Boston, MA 02106.

Adams, Rick and Louise McCorkle. *The California Highway 1 Book: An Odology of America's Most Romantic Road*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1985. \$17.95 (paper). Order from: Ballantine Books; Westminster Distribution Center; Hahn Road; Westminster, MD 21157.

Albronda, Mildred. *The Magic Lantern Man: Theophilus Hope d'Estrella* [the first student enrolled at the California School for the Deaf]. Fremont: California School for the Deaf, 1985. \$12.00 (paper). Order from: California School for the Deaf; 39350 Gallaudet Drive; Fremont, CA 94538.

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Batman, Richard. *The Outer Coast: A Narrative about California Before the World*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

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- Gottlieb, Leon S. *Gold-Mining Surgeon: Hugh Huger Toland, M.D., Founder of the University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine*. Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1985. \$8.00 (paper). Order from: Sunflower University Press; 1531 Yuma; Manhattan, KS 66502.
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NOTES

Braitman, Katherine Philips Edson, pp. 82-95.

1. The title of this article is taken from Peter MacFarlane's article of a similar name, "Katherine Philips Edson, A California Stateslady." *Collier's*, 52, no. 7 (Nov. 1, 1913): 7.
2. "R. Hay Chapman's Tribute to Charles Farwell Edson," clipping from *California Outlook*, box 13, folder 3, Katherine Philips Edson Collection, UCLA (hereafter cited as Edson papers).
3. *Ibid.*
4. Maria Louise Farwell was the sister of Senator Benjamin Farwell and John Villiers Farwell. John V. was one of Chicago's wealthiest developers. She and her relatively impoverished husband apparently received a stipend.
5. *Collier's*, p. 6.
6. *Pacific Empire Express Reporter*, 1913, p. 8.
7. Mrs. Finlay Cook, ed. *California Federation of Women's Clubs Directory, 1921-1922*, (Berkeley: California Federation of Women's Clubs, n.d.), cover page. Also, William O'Neill, *The Woman Movement* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pub., 1969), p. 48.
8. Roland W. Bartlett, *The Milk Industry*, (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1946), p. 252.
9. Unidentified newspaper clipping. Scrapbook, Edson papers.
10. *Los Angeles Record*, June 17, 1910, p. 1.
11. *Los Angeles Herald*, June 18, 1910, Edson Collection, UCLA.
12. *Los Angeles Record*, June 17, 1910.
13. *Los Angeles Record*, June 18, 1910, p. 1.
14. *Los Angeles Record*, June 7, 1910, p. 1.
15. *Los Angeles Herald*, June 18, 1910, p. 1.
16. "Los Angeles City and County," 25th Edition, *The Woman's Bulletin*, Los Angeles City of Commerce, 1912; USC Los Angeles Political Equality League Collection.
17. *California Federation Handbook*, Cook., *ibid.*, p. 195.
18. *Final Calendar of Legislative Business, 1913*, Friend Wm. Richardson, Superintendent of State Printing, Sac. Ca. 1913, p. 683.
19. Katherine Philips Edson to Mrs. Bryan Thomas, January 23, 1914, box 1, folder 2, Edson papers.
20. Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1978), p. 282.
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27. Katherine Philips Edson, "Woman's Influence on State Legislation," *California Outlook*, June 14, 1913, p. 8.
28. *Bulletin, National League of Women Voters*, 1, no. 4 (March 1924): 3 National League of Women Voters papers, Library of Congress.
29. Unidentified newspaper clipping, c. Feb. 24?, "Making Employers Realize Private Business is Public Business—This is the Job of the State Welfare Commission," box 4, folder 9, Edson papers.
30. "What California Has Done to Protect the Women Workers," CIWC, May 1927, p. 5.
31. Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice*, (New York: Atheneum Press, 1968), p. 88.
32. Katherine Philips Edson, "California's Japanese Problem," *The Woman Citizen*, Nov. 5, 1921, p. 9; box 5, folder 7, Edson papers.
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34. "California's Japanese Problem," p. 9.
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 2. *Washington National Intelligencer*, September 4, 1867, p. 1.
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 5. *Springfield State Register*, January 13, 1843, p. 2.
 6. *Springfield State Register*, August 18, 1843, p. 1.
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 10. For differing accounts of McDougall's travels and arrival in California see Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles: The Commercial Printing House, 1901), p. 40; William H. Rhodes, "James A. McDougall" from *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific*, edited by Oscar T. Shuck (San Francisco: Bacon and Company, 1869), p. 691. See also *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography*, Vol. XI (James T. White and Company, 1901), p. 330; Samuel Colville, *Colville's San Francisco Directory of 1856–1857* (San Francisco: Commercial Steam Press, 1857), p. 142.
 11. Rhodes, *Men of the Pacific*, p. 691.
 12. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849–1892* (Sacramento: California State Library, 1893), p. 10.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
 14. Douglas, in order to win Southern support for a transcontinental railroad through the central states, proposed the doctrine of Popular

- Sovereignty for the Kansas-Nebraska territory. Though the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had forbidden slavery in all land above 36°30' within the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase, the Kansas-Nebraska bill and Popular Sovereignty would allow settlers of the new territories to vote on whether or not slavery would be permitted in their region.
15. James O'Meara, *Broderick and Gwin, A Brief History of Early Politics in California* (San Francisco: Bacon & Co., 1881), p. 35.
 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-82.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
 18. Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the Know Nothings in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XIX (1940), p. 64. See also Davis, *Political Conventions*, p. 39; O'Meara, *Broderick and Gwin*, p. 124.
 19. Ann Clark Hart, *Lone Mountain, The Most Revered of San Francisco's Hills* (San Francisco: The Pioneer Press, 1937), p. 7.
 20. James O'Meara, *The Vigilance Committee of 1856* (San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1887), pp. 13-16. Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote of McDougall's involvement in the Cora case: "To say that he did not know his client to be guilty impeaches his intelligence; to say that knowing it he attempted to clear and loosen the bloodhound impeaches the integrity of the Judicial system under which he practised." So much for a trial by a jury of peers. See Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II (San Francisco: The History Company, 1887), p. 34.
 21. O'Meara, *Broderick and Gwin*, p. 129.
 22. William Thompson, Jr., "M.S. Latham and the Senatorial Controversy of 1857," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII (1953), pp. 145-154.
 23. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *The Journal of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.*, ed. Robert F. Lucid (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), Vol. III, p. 922.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 920.
 25. Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 415.
 26. Davis, *Political Conventions*, p. 113.
 27. *Alta California*, March 19, 1861, p. 2.
 28. Oscar Shuck relates a humorous bit of strategy used by McDougall supporters during his bid for Gwin's Senate seat. At one point in the Joint convention proceedings, McDougall strategists felt an adjournment was vital, but could not secure such a resolution from the Convention. Solomon A. Sharp, McDougall's law partner, had a plan. The circus of Lee and Marshall happened to be in Sacramento at that time so Sharp engaged the whole production as a diversion for the legislators. Every member of the Senate and Assembly received free tickets. As part of his understanding with Sharp, the manager of the circus kept the show going all day and night, resulting in a meager turnout for the next session of the Joint Convention. Unable to raise a quorum, the convention leaders postponed the proceedings; the delay provided McDougallites with the time they needed. See Shuck, *Bench and Bar*, p. 469.
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 32. T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p. 30.
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 34. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, December 17, 1861, p. 114.
 35. Abraham Lincoln, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 145.
 36. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, March 27, 1862, p. 1373.
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 40. *Ibid.*, p. 1735.
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 48. Robert E. Blackmon, "Noah Brooks: Sometime John Riverside, Castine, Alta Editor, Etc.," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1954), pp. 195-207. See also Noah Brooks, *Mr. Lincoln's Washington: Selections from the Writings of Noah Brooks, Civil War Correspondent*, Ed. P. J. Staudenraus (South Brunswick, New Jersey: Thomas Yoseloff, 1967), p. 282.
 49. *Journal of the Senate of the State of California*, 15th Session, January 29, 1864, pp. 209, 227-229, 288. See also the *Journal of the Assembly of the State of California*, 15th Session, pp. 203, 272, 329-30.
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 52. *Congressional Globe Appendix*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, March 3, 1862, p. 67.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
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Palmquist, *Silver Plates*, pp. 114-125.

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2. Verso, Bosworth cabinet photograph, author's collection.
3. *Scott Valley News*, August 25, 1894.
4. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1894.

5. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1894. It is interesting that the photographer is noted as being connected with the "Bon Ton" Gallery rather than the "Boston" Gallery as previously described. Did the editor make a mistake, or was it safer to have a name change?
6. Peter E. Palmquist, "The Photographers of Siskiyou County, California 1850-1920," typescript listing, January 1978.
7. Theodosia Teel Goodman, "Early Oregon Daguerreotypers and Portrait Photographers," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 69, no. 1 (March 1948): 40-41.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
9. Peter E. Palmquist, *The Photographers of the Humboldt Bay Region 1850-1865*. (Arcata, CA: published by the author, 1985), p. 75. The number of early daguerreans who did not advertise (or who worked before newspapers were published) may add many additional names to this list.
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11. Peter E. Palmquist, "Imagemakers of the Modoc War: Louis Heller and Eadward Muybridge," *Journal of California Anthropology*, 4, no. 2 (Winter 1977): 206-241.
12. *Yreka Union*, June 8, 1878.
13. The traveling photographers visited Yreka, Fort Jones, Dunsmuir, Etna, Sisson, Berryvale, Sawyer's Bar, Scott River, Scott Valley, Weed, Gazelle, Oak Bar, Happy Camp, Hornbrook, Montague, and many other points as well. Besides Ida Kleinhammer, other camerawomen include a Miss A.M. Tidd in Yreka in 1864; Mrs. C.L. Matthews in Dunsmuir c.1887-1890; Miss Cora Sutton in Dunsmuir, 1902; Miss Gertrude Marx in Etna, 1905; Mrs. Scott in Dunsmuir, 1915; and Mrs. H.H. Secor in Dunsmuir, 1915.
14. For information on Watkins, see Peter E. Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).
15. Clarence King, "Shasta," *Atlantic Monthly*, 28 (December 1871), p. 713. The *Atlantic Monthly* article was later incorporated into his book, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874).
16. Correspondence. S.F. Emmons to

- Arthur, November 14, 1870, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Samuel Franklin Emmons (1841-1911) was a geologist who accompanied King on several expeditions. After his work on Mt. Shasta he moved on to explore Mt. Rainier and other sites in the Cascade range. Gilbert Davis Munger had also accompanied King on an earlier survey. He was a native of Connecticut who abandoned an engraving career in Washington, D.C., to study painting in London and in Barbizon, France. Despite training under the Barbizon tradition, he persisted in painting representationally. Apparently he had joined the Shasta project as a volunteer, or "guest" painter.
17. Clarence King, "Shasta," p. 714.
 18. Benjamin Avery, "Ascent on Mount Shasta," *Overland Monthly*, 12, no. 5 (May 1874): 472.
 19. Robert J. Nixon, "Millions in Gold," *Overland Monthly*, January 1897, pp. 77-102; and February 1897, pp. 193-227.
 20. *Mount Shasta Herald*, November 13, 1888.
 21. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1889.

For further references to Northern California photographic history, by Peter E. Palmquist, see: [SISKIYOU COUNTY] "Photographers of Siskiyou County, California 1850-1920" (typescript listing); [SHASTA COUNTY] "Yesterday's Photographs, Reflections of the Past: The Photographers of Shasta County, California 1850-1870," *The Covered Wagon* (Journal of the Shasta County Historical Society, Redding, CA), 1977; also "Yesterday's Photograph, Reflections of the Past: The Photographers of Shasta County, California 1870-1900," *The Covered Wagon*, 1978; [TRINITY COUNTY] "The Photographers of Trinity County, California 1850-1900," *Trinity* (Yearbook of the Trinity County Historical Society, Weaverville, CA), 1979; [HUMBOLDT COUNTY] *The Photographers of the Humboldt Bay Region 1850-1865* (Arcata: published by the author, 1985); also, "Professional Photographers Working in Humboldt County 1850-1940," *Humboldt Researcher* (Newsletter of the Redwood Genealogical Society, Fortuna, CA), 6:4 (May 1974). [CALIFORNIA GENERAL] "A Name Listing of Nineteenth Century California Photographers Located in the Files of Peter E. Palmquist, 1183 Union Street, Arcata, California, 95521 (typescript listing of about 5,000 names as of March 1, 1986)."

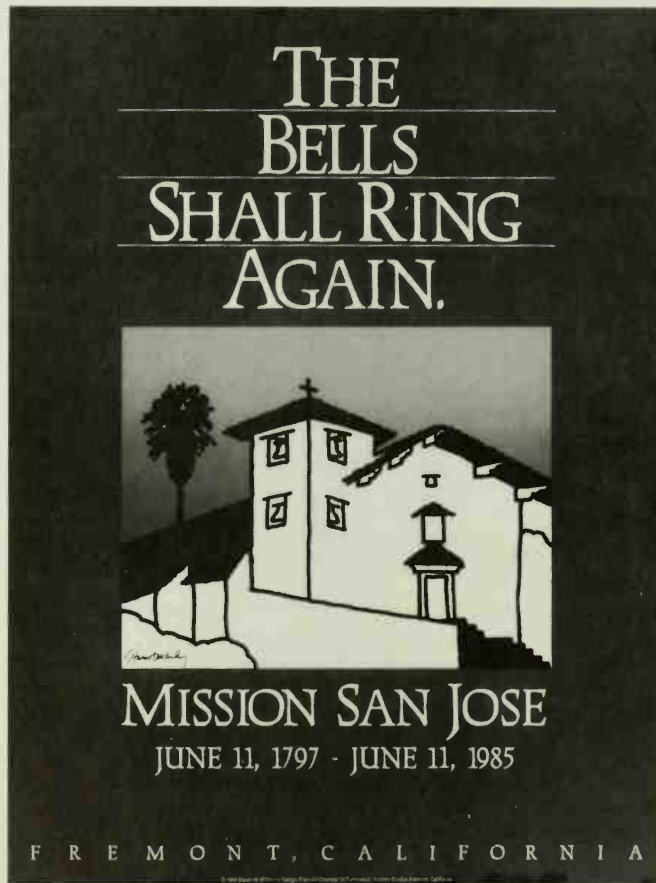
For a plea concerning the need for additional regional investigation, see "Photographic Archaeology: A Case for Regional Research," *California Museum of Photography Bulletin*, 4 (1984), no. 1: 17-29. Copies of the foregoing resources are available through the library of the California Historical Society.

Ledeboer, William Dudley Pelley, pp. 126-136

1. *Who's Who in America, 1926-27*, (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1927), p. 1512.
2. Stanley High, "Star-Spangled Fascists," *Saturday Evening Post*, 27 May 1939, 5; *Los Angeles Times*, 12 November 1938, pt. II, p. 1; 13 November 1938, pt. II, p. 7.
3. Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America. The Rise of Group Prejudice During the Decade 1930-1940* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), p. 51.
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6. Arthur Graham, "Crazy Like a Fox," *New Republic*, 18 April 1934, pp. 264-266; Harold Lavine, *Fifth Column in America*, (New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., Inc., 1940), pp. 175-76. Newspapers were *Chicopee*, *Massachusetts Journal*, *Wilmington, Vermont Deerfield Valley Times*, *St. Johnsbury Caledonian*, *Bennington, Vermont Evening Banner*, and *Springfield, Massachusetts Homestead*.
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8. O'Brien, *The Best Short Stories of 1918*, p. 413. There were seventeen with one star; four with two stars. O'Brien thought Pelley might another Irvin Cobb, if he would develop a style.
9. "When Brown is Red," *Sunset Magazine*, February, 1919, p. 26; "Hustling the Far East," *Sunset Magazine*, March 1919, p. 13; "Dollar in Service on the Missionary Firing Line," *World Outlook*, April, 1919, pp. 9-11; "Lo, the Poor Cynic!" *World Outlook*, February, 1919, pp. 25-6; "Korea and Japan's Boot," *Sunset*

- Magazine, October, 1919, p. 22; "Behind the Dreadful Mask," *Sunset Magazine*, July, 1920, p. 32; "Siberia Back of the Whiskers," *Sunset Magazine*, November, 1919, p. 17; "Siberia with the Lid Off," *Sunset Magazine*, July, 1919, p. 17.
10. *New Republic*, 18 April 1934, p. 264; conversation with Christy Johnson of Hollywood Heritage, Hollywood, California, 21 July 1983. Pelley's office was in the Guaranty Building, 6331 Hollywood Blvd.; Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1940), p. 325.
11. A.M. Sherwood, Jr., "The Movies: Drag," *Outlook and Independent*, 24 July 1929, p. 516.
12. William Dudley Pelley, *Golden Rubbish* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1929), p. 407.
13. *American Magazine*, March, 1929, p. 41.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
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17. *Trail of the Serpent* (Hawthorne, California: The Christian Book Club of America), pp. 285-293; Lavine, *Fifth Column*, p. 181. Tuition was \$150 per year. Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America. The Rise of Group Prejudice During the Decade 1930-1940* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), p. 45. Five hundred people at \$60 each took the course by mail.
18. *The Program of Services for the Weekly Assembly of the League for the Liberation* (Asheville: League for the Liberation, 1932).
19. *Ibid.*, Lessons 28 through 31, pp. 4-5. The League's offices were moved from Asheville to New York City and then to Washington, D.C., where they were under the auspices of the Foundation for Christian Economics, another organization founded by Pelley.
20. William Dudley Pelley, *No More Hunger* (Asheville: The Foundation for Christian Economics, 1933), p. 8.
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22. John Roy Carlson [pseud.], *Under Cover* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1943), p. 400.
23. Samuel Duff McCoy, "Hitlerism Invades America," *Today*, 7 April 1934, p. 3.
24. Dies, *Trojan Horse*, p. 330.
25. *Today*, 7 April 1934, p. 5.
26. Dies, *Trojan Horse*, p. 330.
27. *New Republic*, 18 April 1934, p. 266.
28. Mary Borgerding of the Pasadena Historical Society remembers attending a farm workers meeting at the Rosemont Methodist Church in 1934 or 1935 when a murmur spread through the crowd that the Silver Shirts were coming to break the meeting up. They did not come. Conversation, 12 July 1983.
29. *Today*, 31 March 1934; 7 April 1934; 14 April 1934. In three issues, totaling ninety-two pages, forty-six pages were on Hitlerism. *Today* was originally bankrolled by Vincent Astor and merged with *Newsweek* in 1937.
30. *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 1940, pt. I, p. 8; *New York Times*, 11 February 1940, pt. 1, p. 1.
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50. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 May 1938, pt. I, p. 3; Carlson, *Under Cover*, p. 397.
51. High, "Star-Spangled Fascists," p. 5.
52. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 May 1939, pt. I, p. 1; 29 August 1939, pt. I, p. 7.; *New York Times*, 23 January 1940, pt. 1, p. 1; *Los Angeles Times*, 2 February 1940, pt. I, p. 11; Jerry Voorhis, personal communication, 7 September 1983. Voorhis does not recall the events surrounding Pelley in 1939-1940.
53. *New York Times*, 7 February 1940, pt. 1, p. 1; 8 February 1940, pt. 1, p. 2.
54. *New York Times*, 8 February 1940, pt. 1, p. 2.
55. *New York Times*, 9 February 1940, pt. 1, p. 11.
56. *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 1940, pt. I, p. 8; *New York Times*, 11 February 1940, pt. I, p. 1.
57. *Los Angeles Times*, 29 August 1939, pt. I, p. 7; 10 September 1939, pt. I, p. 16.
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65. *U.S. v. Pelley, Same v. Brown, Same v. Fellowship Press*, 132 F. 2d 172 (7th Cir., 1943).
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BACK COVER: Progressives like Katherine Philips Edson believed that the minimum wage law and other reforms could make social conflict obsolete. This cartoon was probably published in 1913.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY





California Snapshots



Lunch near Searles Lake, San Bernardino County, in the 1890s. Dennis Searles spent his summer vacations at the works of the San Bernardino Borax Mining Company founded and owned by his father John W. Searles. In his diary for the summer of 1890 (when he was sixteen), Dennis wrote of his anxiety that he might have to make the journey from the railhead in Mojave to the borax works on one of his father's giant freight wagons. The seventy-mile trip would have been "a wearisome ride of four days," he noted, instead of the "pleasant" one-and-a-half-day trip he could expect in the company agent's light wagon. For travel from the borax works, Dennis and his father used the buckboard shown in this photograph.

John W. Searles and his brother Dennis discovered Searles Lake in 1861 but did not stake their 160-acre claims until the dry lake's commercial potential became apparent in 1872. Two other partners, each with a 160-acre claim of his own, joined in the initial venture. With the price of borax at \$500 a ton, they were soon followed by a host of other prospectors who covered the lake bed with 20-acre claims. The falling price of borax (\$180 a ton in 1874) and the difficulty of mining and transporting it without heavy equipment soon drove the small operators away. The Searles brothers erected a borax works capable of producing 100 tons a month of refined borax and took out over \$200,000 worth of the mineral in 1873. The importance of Searles Lake as a source of borax declined in the late 1880s, but the San Bernardino Borax Mining Company remained in business until 1895 when it was acquired by F.M. ("Borax") Smith's Pacific Coast Borax Company. Smith closed down the Searles Lake operation; in 1920 he reopened it with new borax extraction processes.

As a boy of sixteen, Dennis Searles wrote, "Now the regular routine [sic] of vacation has commenced which I get very tired of within a month or so. It is get up in time for breakfast at half past five and then for the rest of the day there is plenty to do but one misses the company somewhat of young men as very near all the men are near onto 60. . . ." Many of the workers, according to Dennis's notes and contemporary photographs, were Chinese. Unlike his entrepreneur father running his operation from a desert outpost, Dennis became an executive employee of F.M. Smith's enterprises. Completing his studies at Stanford University in 1895, he lived in San Francisco in 1897 and 1898, returned to the city in 1902, and moved with his employer to Oakland after the 1906 earthquake. In 1902 he was a "cashier" for the Pacific Coast Borax Company. In 1905 he was "secretary" of Smith's West End Consolidated Mining Company and in 1910, he was vice president of the Syndicated Bank in Oakland. After the 1913 collapse of Smith's financial empire, Searles was listed in the Oakland city directory as a "secretary."

Dennis Searles died at the of forty-three on November 25, 1916, in Piedmont. Carolyn Ayers Searles found her husband's schoolboy diary ten months after his death and wrote in it a note to her young daughter, ". . . some day, when you are old enough, [I hope] you will read it and appreciate what a very fine little boy your dear Daddy was. . . . He had no Mother to guide him—but a very fine, but terribly stern Father, who didn't always understand his little boy."

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FRONT COVER: Mexican families in front of their railroad car dwellings at Owenyo, a rail station north of Lone Pine in the Owens Valley. Mr. Zack, left, met his wife Madelen through a Lonely Hearts club. Four of their six children—Colleen, Sofia, Simone and a baby boy—are in front of him. The other people are unidentified and may have been relatives, friends, or neighbors

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THE PATRICIAN RADICAL CHARLOTTE ANITA WHITNEY

Throughout Anita Whitney's six-week trial as California's leading criminal syndicalist, an *Oakland Tribune* reporter observed, "feeling ran high. . . . Two silent juries joined the legitimate third in the courtroom—a hundred fashionably dressed clubwomen (Miss Whitney's partisans) on one side . . . platoons of grim-faced American legionnaires on the other side." And when it came time for sentencing, another reporter commented, "300 men and women prominently identified with the leading social service and public welfare agencies of the state . . . arose as [the defendant] passed down the aisle to her seat and remained standing until sentence had been pronounced."¹

It was 1920. In the aftermath of World War I many Americans agreed with Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer that "like a prairie fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order." The cities were beset with race riots and labor strikes; a national roundup of "Bolsheviks, anarchists and kindred radicals" had led to the arrest and deportation of thousands. And in an Oakland, California, courtroom, fifty-three-year-old Charlotte Anita Whitney—the descendant of generations of American patriots, the favored niece of a Supreme Court justice, daughter of a state legislator and herself a well-known social reformer—sat contemplating the prospect of one to

fourteen years in state prison.

She had been convicted of violating California's new Criminal Syndicalist Act by giving a speech on "The Negro Problem" to her colleagues in the Oakland chapter of the California Civic League. Her speech had advocated suffrage as the best method to improve the life of black Americans; her actual crime could only be defined by a chain of twisted reasoning: She had belonged to one organization (the Communist Labor Party) which endorsed another organization (the Industrial Workers of the World) which in turn was alleged to advocate violence.

For the public she maintained the poise and grace to which she had been born. "A real American," she said, "cannot be blamed for demanding freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. It's in the blood." Free speech, she had come to believe, was an absolute right; the pursuit of social justice an absolute duty.²

The case of Anita Whitney dragged on for seven years. Although the Supreme Court upheld her conviction in 1925, she was never imprisoned. As Eugene Debs had predicted, "the miserable cowards and poltroons who are responsible for her conviction . . . realize that there is such a thing as going too far." A defense committee with a membership list that read like a who's who of the social register and chamber of commerce, with literary, spiritual and political leaders of all

persuasions, came to her support. John Francis Neylan—general counsel for the Hearst Newspapers—persuaded governor Clement C. Young to issue a pardon in 1927. "How can I be pardoned when I've done nothing wrong?" a less than grateful Whitney retorted.³

By 1920 Anita Whitney had traveled a considerable distance from her relatively conventional upbringing. She had decided to live her life in the public arena—first in social work, then in reform politics and finally as a committed revolutionary socialist. She had developed formidable political skills. Over the next twenty-five years, she continued her journey, wagering her respectability and the regard she had worked so hard to achieve on a party of revolutionaries who were, despite brief periods of near-legitimacy, most often isolated and beleaguered. Through it all she remained a woman, in the words of one of her colleagues, "deeply moved by her concern for others and the deep divisions within society."⁴ She was a patrician radical.

Her more than half-century of public life was a tapestry of contradictions and ironies: A leading suffragist, she was convicted of countenancing violence; a founding member of the Communist Party, she was pardoned in large measure because of political manipulations within the Republican party; a woman born to gentility, she would be arrested time and time again as a public nuisance. At the height of

her political career in the late 1930s she consistently polled over 100,000 votes; yet today there is barely a mention of her in standard California history texts. "It was always difficult for the press and society to make sense of Anita," remembers Dorothy Healey who, as the daughter of one of the founders of the Communist Party and a leader herself in later years, had known of Whitney since childhood. "She was a challenge, a puzzle, even I wonder what made her tick. She must have been a faceted human being to sustain with such serenity the activism, pressure and routine of the life she led. She must have had a great reservoir to draw on."⁵

Charlotte Anita Whitney's life spanned nearly a century in which the economic structure and social fabric of the country changed radically, producing successive waves of reform and reaction. She was born in Oakland in 1867—two years after the Civil War ended. She died in 1955, a year after the *Brown* decision laid the groundwork for the end of segregation. She was born in an era when women's sphere was circumscribed to home and church and died having run well for several political offices and served for nine years as state chairman of the Communist Party.

Whitney came by her interest in social reform and politics, as well as a pioneering spirit, quite naturally.



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Anita Whitney in jail in the 1920s. The news story accompanying this photograph was headlined "Prominent Clubwoman and Welfare Worker in Prison Cell" and began, "Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, convicted of syndicalism, shown in her cell in the

Alameda County jail, Oakland, Cal., greeting her friends and sympathizers. . . . Surrounded by flowers, whose fragrance fills the jail, Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney is today awaiting sentence by Judge James G. Quinn. . . ."

Her father was an attorney who, chafing at the conventionality of life in a small Maine town, had migrated to California in the early 1860s. Five ancestors had crossed the Atlantic on the *Mayflower*. One had served as a colonial governor of Massachusetts, others had been military officers in the American Revolution. Whitney spent several summers during her formative years in Washington, D.C. with her maternal uncle, Supreme Court Justice Stephen Field.⁶

Educated in local private and public schools, Whitney was content with a teaching credential earned from San Jose State Normal School. Her father, however—despite his own alienation from the east—insisted that she be exposed to the rich intellectual and political traditions of her ancestors and packed her off to Wellesley in the fall of 1885.

She graduated in 1889, the same year that Jane Addams opened Hull House in Chicago's Italian ghetto. These were heady times at the "seven sisters." Whitney's classmates and contemporaries included scores of young women who would become the backbone of a generation of social reformers who gave themselves almost wholly to the public world. In addition to Addams, they included Lillian Wald of Henry Street Settlement, Emily Green Balch of the peace movement, Sara Decker of the women's club movement, and Margaret Drier of the Women's Trade Union League. Years later, some would compare

Whitney with Eleanor Roosevelt; they shared a colonial lineage, Wellesley education, timbre of voice, and a popularity which transcended political affiliation.

Theirs was a unique generation. At no other time in history did so few active women—like Anita Whitney—marry or have children; others deferred and then labored to combine family life and social action. These were professional women, many were volunteers who served in professional capacities, who shared a Christian concern for the less fortunate, a moral revulsion at the excesses of the new industrialism, a sympathy for immigrants, an inbred commitment to America's democratic heritage, and a rich education which had exposed them to important contemporary American and European social movements. However they came to their missions, by the turn of the century they constituted a new and powerful force in American public life.⁷

After graduation Whitney floundered for a while. "I made an attempt to have the same pleasures and pastimes as the young people around me," she would later write, "but I was always more or less conscious of a feeling of boredom, coupled with a dread of being thought different." Following a meeting of Wellesley alumnae, she visited the College Settlement in New York, which offered relief, instruction, and services to the poor and immigrant people of the lower east side. Exposed to real poverty and suffering for the first time in her life, she found "at last . . . something vital to be done and I wanted to have a part in it. . . . Here certainly some cog in our social system had slipped. I wanted to know about

it, I wanted to help change it."⁸

She spent six months at the settlement, training in the relatively new vocation of social work, absorbing the yeasty life of New York's lower east side. Returning to Oakland upon the death of her father, Whitney was hired in 1901, at \$85 per month, to direct the Alameda County Association of Charities. Over the next ten years she developed a reputation as an able administrator and field worker. She set up youth clubs along settlement house lines in west Oakland. She lobbied for juvenile courts and became Alameda County's first juvenile probation officer—as a volunteer. A colleague commented that Anita "dyed her suits, economized on her luncheons and gave more generously than she could afford from her own funds to alleviate distress beyond what the service could do."⁹

Now in her early thirties, Anita poured most of her energies into her work. "I loved my people," she recalled many years later. "I entered into human relationships I had not known before." In addition to her work, she was a wildflower enthusiast, she belonged to the local women's club, and she became president of the California College Alumnae Association. She was a charter member of the NAACP. She wrote a few articles for the *Overland Monthly*, and she was a major organizer of the relief program after San Francisco's devastating earthquake and fire of 1906.¹⁰

She continued to live at home with her mother. She was an attractive, gracious woman, yet with a quality of reserve and distance. There is no record of any love interest. Years later, when Anita was interviewed for a book commemorating her sev-

Lisa Rubens teaches women's history at Vista College. She is currently at work on a book-length history of women in California.



She became convinced that it was better to prevent rather than ameliorate poverty.

enty-fifth birthday, she confided to a close friend that the interviewer "has met with me two times and surely this time he will ask why I never married." He did not, and the confidence was interpreted by her friend to mean no one else should ask either.¹¹

Teeming with political and intellectual life, the Bay Area at the turn of the century was a good place for a woman with intelligence, training, and a desire to be useful. During the 1890s California, and the Bay Area in particular, had been a center for the Nationalist movement, a loose coalition of activists profoundly affected by the utopian vision of Edward Bellamy's book, *Looking Backward*. Included in this network were the constituencies which ultimately laid the groundwork for Hiram Johnson's Progressive administration which assumed office in 1911: women's clubs, suffrage and temperance associations, unionists, young turks in the established political parties. Socialists, IWWers, or virtually anyone interested in challenging the economic and political dominance of the corporations, could find an audience here.¹²

Whitney was deeply influenced by this combustible atmosphere.

She became convinced that it was better to prevent rather than ameliorate poverty and, she later recalled, "I definitely abandoned the profession that I had hoped was to be my life work."¹³ She joined the rapidly intensifying suffrage campaign and became head of the College Equal Suffrage League. She distinguished herself, according to California's leading suffragist historian, Selina Solomons, as "a young woman of the finest femininity, much personal magnetism and great ability," and as one of the movement's "most indefatigable workers."

California's suffrage campaign was unique and successful because a genuinely united front was forged along a broad spectrum, ranging from the Women's Christian Temperance Union to the Socialist Party. Differences in style and focus were accommodated in what would become known as "The California Model." Whitney felt herself come alive as she planned and participated in the almost daily meetings, marches, and lobbying activities of this extraordinarily diverse coalition of women. With the vote secured in 1911, she became head of the California Civic League, a school in politics for hundreds of women, and for the next two years spent a great deal of time in Sacramento lobbying Hiram Johnson's new Progressive

administration for legislation such as minimum wages for women and children, pasteurization of milk, red-light district abatement. Whitney also served as second vice president of the American Equal Suffrage Association under Jane Addams and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and she worked on suffrage campaigns in Oregon and Nevada. She forged life-long friendships and earned a reputation among legislators as a direct, forceful advocate.¹⁴

"If Miss Whitney of California, as she was known at suffrage conventions, had not been a Socialist, she could have been elected to any office, even the Senate, by the women's vote of her state," wrote Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. But sometime in the year 1914 as Anita would later comment,

Imperceptibly and unconsciously I passed over the line, the invisible line, which divides mankind into two different groups, the group which stands for human exploitation and the group which stands for the fullness of life here and now, for human welfare. I was not sure how it was to come about, and I probably did a great deal of false sentimentalizing about it, but I had taken the road from which there is no returning and with whatever hesitations and stumblings I have tried ever since to follow.¹⁵

Undoubtedly the Wheatland Riot, in August, 1913, was an important catalyst for Whitney's decision.



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California had a long history of farm labor unrest, and the I.W.W. had spent many years trying to organize the large and migrant labor force. But when George Durst advertised for almost double the number of workers he needed to harvest the hops on his Wheatland Ranch, then reduced the wage to 75 cents a day and sold lemonade for 5 cents a cup when the temperature reached 110 degrees, conditions were ripe for rebellion. A spontaneous strike meeting had been called, and a Wobbly organizer was speaking when a deputy sheriff fired a shot in the air "to sober the mob." During the riot which ensued two workers and two lawmen were killed; later two Wobblies, one who was not at the ranch during the riot, were arrested for inciting riot.

Wheatland was the functional equivalent of New York's Triangle Shirtwaist Fire: it crystallized in Whitney's mind "the line" between those who permitted "human exploitation" to continue and those

who were most concerned with "human welfare." Wheatland "brought to public attention the unspeakably demeaning conditions of employment on California's industrialized farms."¹⁶ It also made Whitney aware of the limitations of liberal reform. While the Commission on Immigration and Housing, charged with investigating the riot, debated whether the problems of California's farm workers could best be ameliorated by private charity and whether a law could be passed that would enforce the Commission's recommendations to improve work conditions, members of the I.W.W. were jailed—some for life—simply because they tried to organize farm workers.

Whitney was incensed at this abuse of justice and assault on free speech. She endorsed and raised money for the I.W.W. defense committee. In the minds of some people of her class, it was she who had crossed a line to become identified with "the lawless and disorderly." Mrs.

Picking cotton near Fresno. The hardships of the thirties made field workers receptive to Communist organizing efforts, and party activists provided leadership and support in struggles for improved working conditions.

Durst, whose husband owned the Wheatland Hops Farm, publicly resigned from Whitney's California Civic League.¹⁷

The state charged that the Wobbly concept of industrial unionism was a conspiracy that interfered with the growers' right to conduct business. But Whitney had become convinced that private enterprise would forever be in conflict with the rights of ordinary people. She heard the impassioned speeches of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn excoriating the textile owners in Lowell, Massachusetts, and the "Rockefeller-hired gunmen" who killed women and children during the Ludlow Massacre; she had been deeply moved when she heard Eugene Debs explain that Socialism had taught him "to know that I am kin to all that throbs; to be class-conscious, and to realize that, regard-

less of nationality, race, creed, color or sex, every man, every woman who toils, who renders useful service, every member of the working class without an exception is my comrade . . . and that to serve them and their cause is the highest duty of my life."¹⁸ In 1914 Whitney joined the Socialist Party.

California's socialist tradition went back to the 1880s and the Kaweah Lumber Cooperative, which had been supplanted by Sequoia National Park at the urging of the timber industry. When the Socialist Party was formed in 1901, Gaylord Wilshire, a southern California land speculator and developer, for whom the great Boulevard that cuts through Los Angeles is named, was the first Socialist in the United States to run for Congress. "Let the Nation Own the Trusts" was his slogan. Socialism reached its highest point in California and in the United States during the Progressive Era: between 1911 and 1914 several Socialist assemblymen, one state senator, and one mayor were elected. Many other socialist candidates did well in the state, including Eugene Debs when he ran for President in 1912.

The Socialists made a special effort to organize women, and many well-to-do or prominent women of Whitney's stature, such as Helen Keller, Margaret Sanger, and Frances Willard, found in socialism a democratic alternative to the increasing concentration of power in the hands of a few corporations. "No other party in America," concluded the *Los Angeles Socialist*, "is so just to women in its declaration of principles or in its practical politics."¹⁹

As a Socialist, Whitney opposed United States entry into World War I. As a civil libertarian, her activity

throughout the war years centered on defending freedom of speech. "The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles," exclaimed Eugene Debs, in words for which he would be imprisoned. Congress passed a series of wartime acts which severely restricted freedom of speech and assembly and prescribed steep fines and years of prison for anyone who interfered with the draft or encouraged disloyalty—including those who would "wilfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the flag, service uniforms, or the American form of government. Throughout the country, more than 2,000 people were imprisoned. In California Whitney was occupied with the Mooney-Billings case, in which two men had been falsely accused of exploding a bomb during a war preparedness parade in San Francisco, and the sedition trial of forty-six members of the I.W.W. who opposed the war.²⁰

A wave of xenophobic hysteria descended on the country after World War I. In the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution, every minority—Black, Catholic or immigrant—and every critic of American society—unionist, Progressive, Socialist—was subject to attack. The KKK rode in the North as well as the South; immigration quotas were passed; and so were more laws restricting freedom of speech and assembly. In California, the criminal syndicalist law passed in April 1919 defined as a felony "any doctrine or precept advocating

. . . unlawful acts of force and violence . . . as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change." [emphasis added]

It had been known for some time that Anita Whitney would speak to the California Civic League meeting in Oakland, November 29, 1919, on "The Negro Problem." At the beginning of the month, her entire local of the Socialist Party had affiliated with the newly formed Communist Labor Party. The Communist Labor Party consisted of the "left wing" delegates whose legitimate election to the national Socialist Party convention was challenged. Whitney had served as parliamentarian during the Oakland meeting and argued strongly for solely electoral strategies. Her position was a minority one, however, and the local adopted the national Communist Labor Party's platform which urged both electoral activity and support "of the propaganda and example of the I.W.W."²¹ A week after that meeting, on November 11, 1919, the first Armistice Day, veterans destroyed the hall in which the meeting had taken place. With the memory of Seattle's general strike still fresh, with a vicious local waterfront strike brewing, and with news of four soldiers killed when they raided the I.W.W. hall in Centralia, Washington, the mood in Oakland was ugly.

An address Whitney was to have given to the Mother's Club was canceled by the Oakland police, because she was a woman of "known political tendencies." The Civic League, however, negotiated permission for her to speak by agreeing to have an American flag and a police officer present. The controversy surrounding Whitney had a disquieting effect

on the League, which opened its meeting only after participants voted ninety-four to forty-eight to allow her to speak. The wife of a superior court judge who was to have introduced Whitney refused to do so.

By any standard, the speech was inoffensive. Whitney condemned the wave of lynchings which had followed the war—some of the victims had been black veterans who had fought in segregated units—and the history of racism in this country. "It is not alone for the Negro man and woman," she argued, "but for the fair name of America that this terrible blot on our national escutcheon be wiped away. Not our country right or wrong, but our country, may she be right, because we, her children will it so." She concluded with a plea for an anti-lynching law and an active electorate. She was arrested immediately after the meeting on the charge of violating the criminal syndicalist law.²²

The trial created strong partisans. "Charlotte Anita Whitney, a woman of education and with all the advantages possessed of wealth and with the opportunity of doing great good to her fellow creatures," charged the *Sacramento Bee*, "has prostituted her talents for years to the service of the lawless and disorderly." Casting her peers as equally culpable, the *Bee* concluded that "the urge of these wealthy, well read, but really ill-educated women is the urge of idle restlessness, the crave for adventure, the lust for power—even if it be the leadership of the lawless in the assault upon the citadels of civilization." The *San Francisco Call*, in contrast, concluded: "There is nothing in the history of America to serve as precedent for her imprisonment.

The colonists were wrong when they burned witches; the people were wrong when they spat upon the abolitionists. And the people of California may be equally wrong when they send Anita Whitney to prison."²³

John Francis Neylan did not much agree with her style of politics, but he was persuaded to appeal Whitney's case by Archbishop E.J. Hanna, Rabbi Meyer and Fremont Older. Neylan had known Whitney while serving on the State Board of Control during Hiram Johnson's administration and thought her a bit of a crank. But when he read the transcript of her trial, he was convinced that it represented "the most flagrant, shameful abuse of the legal process. . . . It was just a terrible thing."²⁴

Most of the trial consisted of testimony against the I.W.W. Proceedings were stopped when a juror became ill; but the judge permitted no delay when Whitney's lawyer became ill and then died three weeks into the trial. The "eye-witness" reporter of the *Oakland Enquirer* confessed that he had been instructed by the police to lie by testifying that a red flag had been draped over the American flag during Whitney's speech. The jury submitted a bill of \$3,000 to cover expenses; an itemized list included 742 cigars and 14 haircuts.²⁵

While Whitney's case worked its way up the legal ladder, the U.S. Supreme Court made several landmark decisions on the issue of free speech emanating from cases of political suppression during World War I. Each attempted to clarify Holmes' doctrine of "clear and present danger" first established in 1919. Whitney's conviction was upheld by

the Supreme Court in 1925 on a technicality—the appeal had not been based on the clear and present doctrine. But in a concurring opinion, Brandeis issued the most civil libertarian and eloquent interpretation of the first amendment:

*Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not exact order at the cost of liberty . . . no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for free discussion.*²⁶

Whitney put it more simply. "I tried to uphold the Constitution. . . . If believing in equality is a crime against my country, then I am guilty. If belief in self expression that does not interfere with the lives of others is criminal, then I am criminal."²⁷ Publicly she maintained that she was ready for prison; that she would not seek a pardon when more than 500 people had been arrested and while some were still jailed under the same law. But Neylan recalled a poignant encounter in his office shortly after the decision: "That was the first time I ever saw her break in the whole seven and a half years . . . she sobbed . . . she said she couldn't take the strain any longer. It did her good," he concluded. "She'd been holding it in for God knows how long."²⁸

By 1927 an extraordinary roster of intellectual, civic and corporate leaders requested a pardon on her behalf, including Hiram Johnson, Upton Sinclair, the dean of University of California Law School, and the chairman of Standard Oil. Walter Peterson of the San Francisco Ship-owners Association, who had been

captain of detectives in Oakland in 1919, perhaps best summed up their reasons for defending Whitney:

*"I investigated Anita Whitney's record . . . I found that she had always done an enormous amount of good in the community. I wasn't in sympathy with her pacifist ideas and a lot of her other notions. But I recognized that it wasn't in her nature to commit violence or to encourage it. . . . She was one of those idealists who want to make the world better for everyone. . . . She should never have been held to answer in the first place."*²⁹

Governor Clement C. Young issued a pardon in 1927 citing among other reasons the vagueness of the law and Whitney's age. Young also admitted that "her imprisonment might possibly serve a harmful purpose by reviving the warring spirits of radicals through making her their martyr." Neylan, however, believed that the pardon was issued because "it was politically expedient." Three weeks after the pardon was issued, he read of a blistering attack on Young by Whitney. He dropped her a note asking, "Don't you think it would have been nicer for you to wait awhile before denouncing the man who pardoned you from a term of 1-14 years?" He received a crisp reply to the effect that "she hadn't realized that when she accepted the pardon she had sacrificed any of her rights as an American citizen. That was the last I ever heard from Miss Whitney."³⁰

Having reached the age when most people of her generation and social class entered genteel retirement, having been seasoned by the ordeal



of her case, Anita Whitney committed the next twenty years to building the American Communist Party.

A reconstituted Communist Party had just begun to stabilize after years of bitter factional warfare. By 1928, with a firm belief that the demise of western capitalism was imminent, the party was inaugurating its "third period" by creating "revolutionary" dual unions and launching a series of bitter attacks on other left-wing and liberal organizations. As the Depression cut deeper and more broadly into American society, the party became more visible organizing unemployment marches in major cities and using its International Labor Defense (ILD) to repre-

Family portrait taken to commemorate the silver anniversary of the marriage of Anita Whitney's parents, George Edwin Whitney and Mary Lewis Swearingen Whitney (seated). Standing in the rear are daughters Violet, Stephanie, and Ethel (far right). The young man is unidentified. Mary is at the front on the left, Charlotte Anita on the right.

sent people jailed for leafleting, organizing, picketing or striking.³¹

Whitney was particularly active with the ILD, raising money and visiting people in jail. One of the few Party members to own a car, she drove to black cotton growing communities in Fresno and Blythe, close to the Arizona border; to Filipino and Mexican harvesting camps in Coachella and Salinas. She spoke

against segregation and for guaranteed wages and workers compensation. The more she saw of the squalid conditions in which so many people lived and worked, the more she was convinced that "the Communist Party is the only Party that can . . . bring a change in people's lives." The more she studied communist theory and party literature, the more she became convinced of the fundamental conflict between classes.³²

Sometimes, however, she could rise above her party's strident sectarianism. C.L. Dellums, the vice president of A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (which was closely identified with the Socialist Party, and at that time derided by the Communist Party as "social fascists") met Whitney in the late 1920s when she tried to recruit him to go to the Soviet Union to make a movie about blacks in the United States. He refused, he recalled, because "I didn't want to be used by the Soviet Union." After that encounter, however, she came by his office once a week, for several years. "She just sat and we talked about a lot of things." When the party's newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, criticized Randolph as a "lackey of the capitalists," "she apologized to me, saying 'My party should not criticize the only independent, progressive Negro organization.'" Dellums also remembered hearing about a speech Whitney gave to the California State Federation of Women's Clubs where she "really tore into those white ladies for not helping to pass an anti-lynching law. That really impressed me," he concluded. "She was a principled person. Every time she ran for public office I voted for her; she was much

better than anyone else who was running. Anita Whitney was a remarkable woman."³³

By 1935 the Communist Party had officially adopted the "Popular Front," which encouraged alliances rather than competition with "progressive" movements. But in California the party had already adopted this strategy, in part because in a "frontier" state it had some flexibility and independence from the national, and in part because leaders like Anita Whitney recognized that this was the only strategy possible if the party were to have any effect. Roosevelt's New Deal and Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) gave new life to the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and ultimately facilitated the birth of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The 1934 maritime and general strikes in San Francisco, more than any other single event, forced the considerable number of party members active in the industry to work with conservative AFL officials, anti-communist seamen, and teamsters. Communists propelled themselves into leadership positions and broadened the demands to include, for instance, the end of segregated work forces and a democratic hiring hall.

The success of the 1934 strike inaugurated an extraordinarily exciting and energetic era in California labor and politics. Organizers led a "march inland" to spread the new unionism. The Free Tom Mooney campaign won broad support. National issues, such as the Scottsboro case, in which the party had played an important role, found a sympathetic response in California. Whitney was forever in the limelight; hosting a rally for the mother

of a Scottsboro defendant; circulating petitions to pardon Mooney; chairing a prison relief committee. California Communist Party ranks swelled from about 2,500 at the start of the decade to nearly 40,000 at its close; there were almost 250,000 members throughout the country. Moreover, as Harvey Klehr, one of the new generation of Communist Party scholars, has pointed out, "formal party membership was not as important as it had once been. Thousands of Americans took their lead from the Communist Party without affiliating with it." As one former party member commented, "The Party was THE place to be in the thirties; it was simply into everything; it was tremendously exciting and you just wanted to be a part of it."³⁴

Anita Whitney had a lot to do with legitimizing the Communist Party. She ran for State Controller in 1934 and polled 100,000 votes—twice the number of any other Communist candidate—and thereby secured the party's position on the ballot. Her vote remained virtually the same when she ran again in 1938, and for Senate in 1940. With her thirty-five-year track record in social reform and politics, with her independent reputation and vast network of connections, with a public image that was attractive and well spoken rather than strident and aggressive, she seemed to symbolize the direction in which the national party wanted to move. For instance, although Whitney and her comrades had agreed not to run a gubernatorial candidate against Upton Sinclair and his EPIC campaign in 1934, the National Committee overturned their decision. But by 1938 the national had "gone over" to Roosevelt



and the California Communist Party joined with the remnants of EPIC to elect Culbert Olsen the first Democratic governor in forty-four years.³⁵

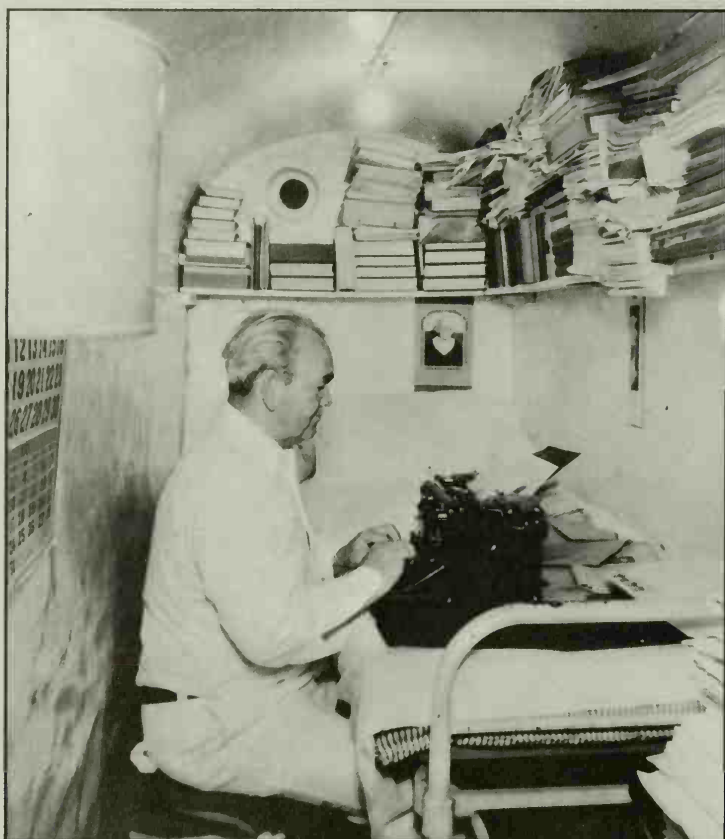
Whitney served as state chair of the Communist Party in California from 1936 to 1944, when the party formally disbanded as a measure of its support of World War II and reformed itself as the Communist Political Association. Although real executive power resided with State Secretary William Schneiderman, Whitney exercised considerable leverage as she chaired the numerous boards, committees, and conventions through which the party functioned. Few Communist Party women anywhere in the country attained comparable authority and respect. Yet during her tenure a new

generation of spirited and effective women proved themselves outstanding organizers and were promoted to positions of leadership within the California party. By 1941, for example, San Francisco's Communist Party County Chair, Oleta Connor Yates, had attained sufficient stature to be appointed by Mayor Angelo Rossi to the city War Unity Board.³⁶

When the party line shifted, over the Hitler-Stalin Pact, on the nature of revolutionary struggle, on the position of women and minorities, as to who was the "correct leader," Whitney was never identified with a particular faction. "She was a unifying force," recalled Louise Todd, organizational secretary of the Communist Party in California during

Anita Whitney with John F. Neyland, who arranged her pardon from her syndicalism conviction.

the 1930s. "She was a conciliator," Mickey Lima, current chair of the California Communist Party, recently observed. "She had a calming effect; she wanted to see us get on with our work and helped us to realize the most efficient way to do that."³⁷ It is difficult to fathom her personal feelings about many of the controversial issues that beset the party over these years. Her private papers seem to have been destroyed by an unsympathetic relative; her public addresses and endorsements on leaflets and pamphlets follow the party's official positions. While Sam Darcy, the Communist Party candi-



COURTESY, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY

date for governor and Whitney's running mate in 1934, was expelled from the party in 1944 for opposing its dissolution, Whitney became the state vice president of the new association. Although Whitney was very close to Earl Browder there is no public record or private recollection of Whitney's personal response to the dramatic upheaval when Browder was replaced by William Z. Foster as the national chairman at the time of the party's reorganization in 1945.³⁸

Controversy surrounded and riddled the party, but Whitney seemed untouched by it. Above all, she was loyal. She may have had some misgivings and criticisms, but she continued to see the party as the best vehicle for achieving social and eco-

Tom Mooney, imprisoned in San Quentin for more than two decades, became the focus of a sustained campaign by liberals and radicals to win his freedom. Here he is shown in his cell at San Quentin.

nomic justice at home and abroad. Many became disillusioned with the party's seemingly puppet-like response to the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact, but Whitney proudly insisted that "Our party is an American Party." During her 1940 Senate campaign, (in which she ran against her former ally Hiram Johnson, now an isolationist and anti-labor candidate) she proclaimed that: "We stand for the defense of American democratic institutions, for the defense of our country and the interests of the American people. . . . We Communists fought to save Spain and

China," to oppose the Munich policy, and to elect Roosevelt. Although a pacifist all her life, she was chosen to serve on the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party in 1940, and she helped draft the party's statement in support of United States entry into World War II the following year.³⁹

Recent historiography has portrayed the Communist Party as either a puppet of the Soviet Union or a "romance" in which people were easily seduced but then soured of the affair. Debates rage over how the party used and manipulated people and whether it was sincere about some of its purported concerns. But the California Communist Party is more complex and requires more research and analysis, as does Whitney's role in it.

Jessica Mitford, the daughter of British aristocrats who joined the Communist Party in California in 1942, remembers Whitney as "a marvelous old soul and Party stalwart. Mitford raised questions about the period of policy changes:

did I feel we were automatons, blind followers of the Line as handed down from on high? There was an element of that, but it is not the whole picture. Throughout the Party there were intensive discussions preceding these changes; we held meetings that lasted far into the night to study and dissect draft resolutions from the national office, to scrutinize papers submitted by club members, all of which gave me a strong sense of personal involvement in the Party's policy decisions.

Mitford left the Party in 1956, but in her memoir of those years she concluded,

It is hard to convey the sort of alchemy at work in these discussions, com-

pounded of the Party's illustrious history as carrier of the torch against Fascism in Spain, Germany, Italy; the magnetic influence of such persuasive and articulate debaters as Oleta Yates, Bill Schneiderman, Steve Nelson; above all the conviction that the Communist Party, equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, was historically destined to lead the working class to socialism—it would make mistakes along the way, but these would be corrected thru criticism, self-criticism, the testing of theory in day-to-day work.

*The example of Anita Whitney, with her personal integrity and leadership skills, had a lot to do with assuaging the doubts of many members.*⁴⁰

The Communist Party had a particularly large, vital and varied membership in California, with a wide range of experience and commitment. Its newspaper, the *People's World* (published daily between 1938 and 1956, and weekly thereafter) enjoyed a circulation and influence well beyond party confines and allowed discussion of controversial issues not aired in the national party publications. Yet the Communist Party as a whole was also a tightly knit organization that took people of diverse backgrounds and "welded them into a cohesive entity through a rigorous organizational, structure, a tight discipline, and a common ideology."⁴¹

As a member of the National Committee Whitney certainly was privy to discussions over the influence of the Soviet Union on party policy. She died before the "revelations" of Stalin's excesses. All that is readily known of her attitude toward the Soviet Union, which she never visited, is that she was enthusiastic. It must be kept in mind that she came to political maturity during the 1920s

and early 1930s, when thousands of her peers traveled to the Soviet Union and reported what they saw there, in the words of Jane Addams, as "the greatest social experiment in history." There was a feeling that "in the new Soviet society," according to Louis Feuer, "the social worker was not a 'do gooder' but a foremost participant and definer of goals." Whitney lauded the USSR's bold attempt to establish socialism and no doubt winced when the country acted on impulses of national expediency.⁴²

Anita Whitney's entire life became wrapped up in the Communist Party. In her later years she lived with a nephew who was devoted to her, if hostile to the party; he frequently enraged Whitney by paying her bail when she preferred to stay in jail, yet he drove her to party events. She visited a sister while attending party conventions in New York, but increasingly her network of associations became limited to the party. As she got older and her former associates retired, Whitney developed a particular interest in young people—much like Eleanor Roosevelt. Whitney was attracted to their enthusiasm, vision and energy; and they saw her as a reservoir of political experience. Edith Jenkins remembers that it was not unusual for Whitney to attend Young Communist League (YCL) meetings. Some were even held at Whitney's house. "One time we were singing a particularly buoyant and bawdy song from the Spanish Civil War. I looked up and saw Anita Whitney across from me and I felt embarrassed. But she gave no indication she was offended; and if she had been, she was too much of a lady to show it."⁴³ "She just didn't seem old,"

Leah Schneiderman, wife of the party's California executive secretary and a leader in her own name, recently recalled: "She had a tremendous amount of energy. She once gave me a bottle of port and told me that she had a glass every night because 'It rejuvenates me.'"⁴⁴

Long after Whitney had reached the status of a living legend within the party, and well into her late seventies, she could still be counted on to hand out leaflets at factory gates protesting the U.S. embargo of the Spanish Civil War, to picket at the German consulate, or to climb on a soapbox in Dolores Park to talk about the Japanese internment. At one time she was the only woman, the only native-born American, and the only non-smoker in San Francisco's North Beach branch of the party club; yet she patiently waited as the meetings "sometimes so clouded with smoke you couldn't see a speaker's face" dragged on until two in the morning as each talk was translated into Italian, Chinese, and Spanish. Party conventions "took her attention completely," remembers Louise Todd. While many of her friends would "take off to shop or sight-see," Anita didn't miss a session. "Anita wouldn't do anything like that." At eighty she declined an invitation to address the California Labor School on International Women's Day. She sent a message to the effect that only under socialism would women achieve equality, and then set up a weekly anagram game and discussion of world events with the young instructor who had invited her. Helen Lima remembers an eighty-three-year-old Whitney being carried to a rally by longshoremen, where she spoke in defense of her comrades in

jail under the Smith Act. "The press was yapping around her like a pack of dogs, but her voice was steady and her message clear."⁴⁵

The Communist Party provided Whitney with both a vision and a practical means for achieving justice and equality in American society. It sought the end of class conflict and exploitation; it stood for racial and gender equality; it championed reforms in the way people lived, worked, and were cared for by their society; it was concerned with social and political justice in the rest of the world. For Whitney, Communism was a logical and scientific ideology to choose; it represented to her, in the words of Earl Browder, "twentieth century Americanism." When she was asked what the Communist Party meant to her, she replied quite simply, "Why . . . it has given purpose to my life."⁴⁶

There is much left to wonder about Anita Whitney. During her last years the Communist Party, as well as the entire liberal-left-labor coalition formed during the first years of the New Deal, experienced an unprecedented assault in yet another period of post-war anti-radical and xenophobic hysteria. It was a far different period from the one surrounding World War I in which Whitney had forged her life as a radical. The new anti-red assaults cut more deeply and had a more lasting effect. For years the history of the Communist Party was buried in the monumental campaign to change American attitudes towards the Soviet Union; perhaps this accounts in part for her absence—but for a line or two on the criminal syndicalist trial—from

most California histories.

Whitney remained hopeful. "The American people aren't going to take the Taft-Hartley Bill and the American imperialist drive to tie up the world," she predicted in 1947. Later that year, however, she was called before the Tenney or "little Dies" Committee—one of the first of what would become a devastating series of investigations that shattered the liberal community. She died in 1955 when some of her comrades were still in jail under the Smith Act. Alert and active until 1953, she had written to an imprisoned "companion in arms," "I feel I ought to have some line up on what the other side is doing and saying, and that is plenty. . . . When I see that our country is loaning a billion here and a billion there to keep fascism alive, I realize what we are up against."⁴⁷

From the days when Whitney first saw base poverty and ruthless exploitation during the Progressive era to those in which she witnessed the wholesale abuse of civil liberties during the McCarthy era, she saw herself "up against" formidable odds. "We've simply got to fight harder than ever now," she concluded. "You grow through struggle."⁴⁸ She never changed her commitment to her vision of democracy and equality, to fundamental American civil rights and civil liberties. It was only the form of her political associations that changed.

It is really not so difficult to discern a continuity between Whitney's patrician background and her radical politics, between her professional roots as a social worker and her activity in the Communist Party. In all her endeavors, she was always characterized as selfless and dedi-

cated. A former comrade likened her to a liberation priest; the movement for social justice was her family and her life.⁴⁹ Throughout her life she remained the clubwoman in appearance, in demeanor, and in her genuine concern for others. "Anita took the time to do the nice and kind things," remembers Leah Schneiderman. "Some of us in our exuberance for politics did not attend to such things." Another comrade remembers a meeting at Whitney's home to organize Chinese youth, in which a very proper tea was set, with all sorts of nice dishes and accompaniments; the guests "dutifully put everything laid out into their tea, and then a heated political discussion followed."⁵⁰

Whitney's greatest legacy was her work in civil rights. A former party member recalls that in the late 1940s, with membership declining, Paul Robeson and the party through the Negro Labor Council staged sit-ins against segregated facilities: "This was way before the civil rights movement or Martin Luther King or anything like that. Anita Whitney was just legendary. We knew she had stayed with this issue since the first part of the century and she was a source of great inspiration to us."⁵¹

Legends have a way of becoming embellished. It was always rumored that Whitney came from considerable wealth, that she was a woman who had left riches to cast her lot with the left. She did own a few pieces of property, including a cottage in Carmel, which she regularly used for bail collateral; and various people still vividly remember attending fundraisers at her house on Macondray Lane, with its magnificent view of the Bay and well kept flower garden. But she left a modest



estate, and there is no evidence that she was related to the wealthy Whitney family of the East Coast. There were many party members of substantial means, and even more "angels" who although not members were financially generous. Whitney gave in a more substantial way by committing her life to the organization. Yet as the party's treasurer and fundraiser for many years, she never hesitated to solicit money from friends and associates from her patrician past. "Most people felt it an honor when Whitney called on them to give money," recalled Louise Todd. "She had such integrity, as well as grace and charm, it was hard to turn her down."⁵²

Anita Whitney never feared political conflict. In a quiet, studied, and determined way she made her views known, never hesitating to picket, march or be jailed for what she believed was a just cause. Whitney never locked her own door; but when the police destroyed party halls and raided members' homes during the 1934 general strike, she stood guard in her house with a milk bottle and fire poker. Another story frequently told about Whitney may

be somewhat apocryphal, but it is part of the legend surrounding her. During the 1933 Salinas lettuce strike, police had cordoned off the town and the strike leaders needed information and supplies. The party's other fundraiser, Rudy Lambert, borrowed a limosine, a chauffeur's cap for himself, and a full-length mink coat for Whitney. Assuming the appearance and manner that came with her background and education, she regally wrapped herself in the coat, took the appropriate position in the back seat, and with a thousand leaflets covered by the luxurious folds of the fur, was readily ushered through the barricade.

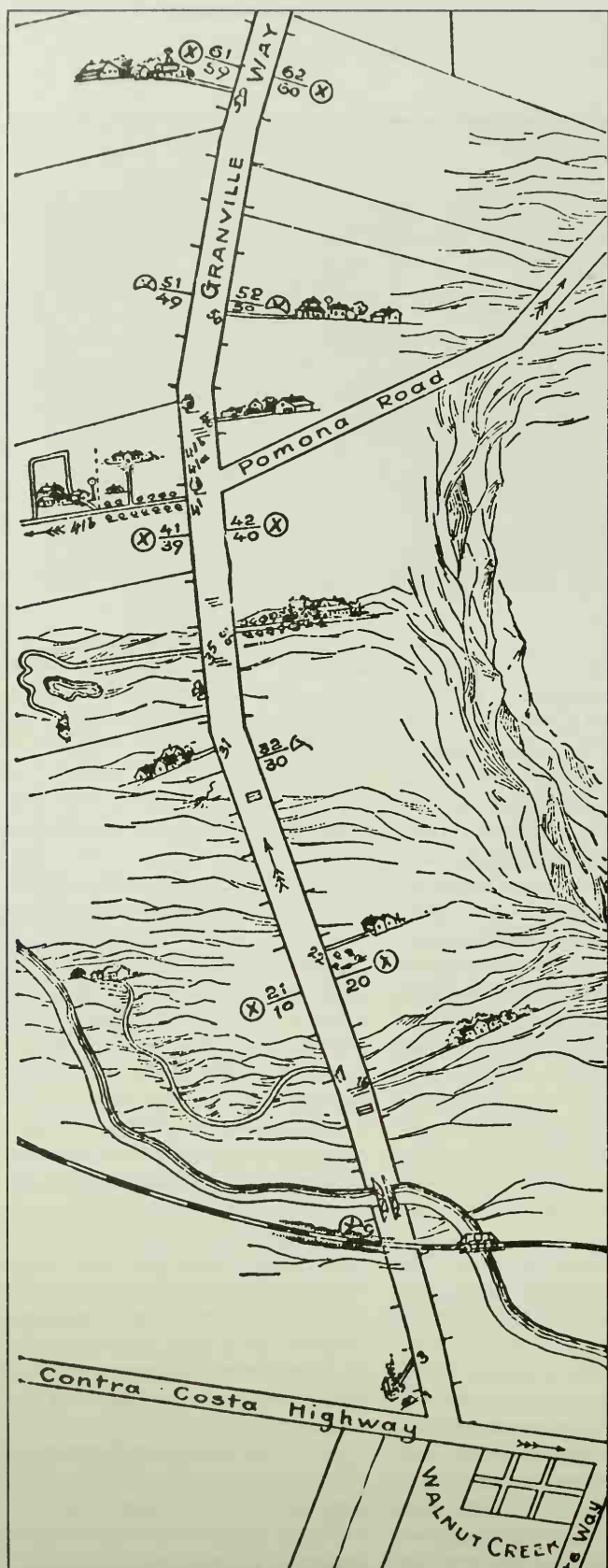
Charlotte Anita Whitney was indeed a patrician radical. She was born with a silver spoon and seemed destined to live the life of a clubwoman. But she chose instead the intense and self denying life of a Communist Party leader. "My father always taught me to stand up to things—to judge for myself the difference between right and wrong," Whitney once told a reporter. "And after all, the greatest satisfaction in life comes from obeying your own conscience and helping in your own small way to make the world a little

Longshoremen on strike march on the San Francisco waterfront, May 10, 1934. Whitney and the Communist Party were engaged in many of the labor struggles of the 1930s.

better for someone else because you have lived."⁵³

Charlotte Anita Whitney is part of a tradition of native American radicals, who stood for the best in American society and who in both large and small ways made the world a better place. People named their children after her, an Oakland party club was named for her. But perhaps an East European Jewish immigrant garment worker in Los Angeles, who never felt entirely comfortable in this country, but who saw in the Communist Party a way to broaden her life and belong to a community, best identifies Anita Whitney: Manya Levin habitually referred to all non-Jews, more or less hostilely, as "goyim," but when she spoke of Anita Whitney, she would proudly say, "Now that is a real American."⁵⁴ □

See notes beginning on page 226. This article was made possible by a generous grant from Mrs. Leroy F. Krusi for a series of biographies to be published in memory of her late husband.



ALBERT L. BANCROFT

AND THE “TEN BLOCK SYSTEM FOR NUMBERING COUNTRY HOUSES”

CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

One of the important "movements" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which advanced the modernization of American society was the crusade for good roads. Spurred at first by bicycle enthusiasts and later by automobile owners, academics, government officials, grange organizations, professional road engineers, and community boosters, the good roads movement became national in scope by the 1880s and included many state-oriented participants. The crusade began as a drive for the physical improvement of roads to aid transportation for business and recreational purposes; it soon took on the additional mission of bringing America's rural population into closer communication with urban centers. The improvement of country roads aided immensely in the establishment of mail delivery and in travel to cities and towns, reducing the isolation of rural life and offering city amenities to those living in the countryside.¹

In California, major organized efforts to improve roads did not begin until 1900, when automobile associations were formed in San Francisco and Los Angeles and were joined by bicyclists and others in lobbying for state legislation and bond issues to finance road construction. Before the turn of the century, newspapers decried local road conditions and demanded appropriate action, usually to little avail. A state bureau of highways was created in 1895, but it was primarily advisory. The most noteworthy pre-1900 development

related to the good roads movement in California was the invention of an address and distance system that, at least in theory, would solve most of the nation's problems related to inferior roads. Although never adopted on a basis extensive enough to prove its usefulness, this "Ten-Block System for Numbering Country Houses" was a significant advance in rationalizing highway networks and developing better communications in non-urban areas.²

The inventor of this system for assigning addresses and calculating distance in rural areas was Albert Little Bancroft. Born in Granville, Ohio in 1841, Albert was the younger brother of California publisher Hubert Howe Bancroft. At the request of his older brother, Albert moved to California in 1858 and became a bookkeeper in Hubert's publishing house. The following year the two established the A.L. Bancroft Company in San Francisco, where Albert sold stationery and blank books and assisted in the publishing business. In the several business ventures in which the brothers were involved, Albert's abilities as an organizer and administrator have been credited with much of the Bancroft financial success.³

In 1885 Albert purchased the 360-acre Aloha Farm in the San Ignacio Valley, about twenty-seven miles northeast of San Francisco in Contra Costa County. He began planting fruit trees and over the next few years added considerable acreage to his holdings. In 1890 he built a concrete house on the property where he resided a day or two each week, although his primary residence was still a Victorian mansion on Sutter Street in San Francisco. In

Contra Costa County, Bancroft became aware of some of the problems of rural life, particularly the lack of some of the amenities that city dwellers take for granted. There he read an editorial in the *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette* in January 1890, which criticized a proposal circulating in rural-oriented publications that houses outside of urban areas be assigned address numbers just like city homes. The *Gazette* editor claimed that naming the roads and putting up directional signs were good ideas, but, he argued, the eventual construction of new buildings between those already numbered in succession would ruin the proposed system. As a part-time fruit grower, Bancroft had a vested interest in, as well as a personal curiosity about the problem, and he took it upon himself to find a solution.⁴

According to Bancroft's own notes, he originally conceived the "Ten Block System for Numbering Country Houses" while on a vacation in Europe in 1869-1870, but was not moved to do anything about it then. The January 1890 editorial in the *Gazette* rekindled the idea. Bancroft immediately set about adapting the plan to the needs of Contra Costa County and pressing for its implementation.⁵

The basis of Bancroft's block system was relatively simple—addresses were assigned to the land, rather than to existing structures, just as was being done on downtown city blocks. First, all the existing roads in a county should be studied and arranged in as long lengths as possible. Names would then be assigned with particular consideration to botanical, topographical, and historical features.

(Left) Map drawn by Bancroft to illustrate how the "Ten Block System" would work.

Road maintenance was a sometime thing in the early days of motor travel. These men are working off a road tax. Bancroft believed that naming, measuring, and marking roads according to his system would encourage property owners to take the initiative in repairing and improving roads traversing or bordering their lands.

Roads could not be named for a terminus or a living person. Only relevant and pleasing names should be chosen because objectionable ones "would mar the symmetry of the whole and be a constant source of irritation for years afterward to a person of fine sensibilities." The major roads would then be measured from a spot directly in front of the county courthouse; minor roads were measured from wherever they began at a major road. Each mile of a road would be divided into ten imaginary blocks of 528 feet. Two numbers would be assigned to each block, an odd number on the left side, even on the right, so twenty numbers were available for each mile of the road. The first house having an entrance in a certain block would be assigned that number and additional houses in the same block would carry the number followed by a letter: as in Bancroft's example, 742, 742a, 742b, 742c, and so on. Thus, each structure in a non-urban area would have its own address depending on the location of its entrance on a road. A home built afterwards would receive the block number assigned to the land on which it was built.⁶

Bancroft's system required a variety of road signs. Initially he suggested guide boards made of galvanized sheet iron on 4" x 4" redwood posts extending eight feet above the ground and stationed at numerous locations to identify the road, the block number at that point, and the distance to towns in either direction. Additional signs would be painted on existing features such as

fences, trees, and telegraph poles to identify the dividing line between blocks. Structures along the roads would post their block addresses on plates visible at their entrances to "serve as milestones" indicating their precise locations. Finally, a map of the county depicting all its roads and a directory of its residents by Ten-Block System address would be available to residents and visitors as a convenient means to locate any point or person in the county.⁷

Albert Bancroft and those who aided his efforts saw numerous advantages in his proposal. As opposed to the old method (which is to say no method at all), Bancroft claimed that his invention was the only way to "systematize this thing" and "place the country fully upon equality with the city." Residences and businesses could be found easily by strangers and residents alike. The system was permanent, since new houses would already have an assigned address, and new roads could be added to the list at any time. Exact locations could be identified easily. This would aid in the creation of a postal delivery system in rural areas, help locate spots where roads needed repair, and make it easier to describe boundaries of real estate in property transactions. The block address could simplify voting registration procedures by providing exact addresses for the county's "Great Register" of voters. Bancroft thought the mere existence of the system would encourage residents to take better care of the appearance of their roads and would increase business, since farmers could more easily describe the location of their product. Since the block system was to be in effect only in unincorporated areas, it would not

confuse existing city addresses or roads as the new roads passed through cities. In full operation, Bancroft believed that his system would create better city-county relations and make the "country" a better place in which to live.⁸

Bancroft also promoted his system as a method of measuring distances in rural areas. Anyone with a basic knowledge of mathematics could calculate the distance from one point to another by subtracting the mileage at his or her starting point from that at the destination. The mileage at any point could be computed by dividing the block address by two (since there are two sides of the street) and again by ten (since there are ten blocks to a mile). Thus, block number 742 is located 37.1 miles from the beginning of the road, or 12.1 miles from block number 500 on the same road. This calculation could be useful in verifying mileage claims by jurors and public officials.

The establishment of the plan in Contra Costa County in the early 1890s became something of a personal crusade for Albert Bancroft. After devising the rudiments of the plan, he organized a series of county-wide meetings—the first at the Oak Grove School down the road from his Aloha Farm—to explain his idea to county residents and solicit their support. At one of these meetings a committee of five, which of course included Bancroft, was formed to study the plan and present it to the county board of supervisors for adoption. In December 1890, the committee completed its study and had it printed in the

Tom Sitton is an assistant curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.



Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette for the benefit of fellow "citizens of Contra Costa County." Early the following year Bancroft and his associates presented the plan and recommendations for its implementation to the board. The supervisors were interested in the proposal, but agreed with a local Grange organization that the plan was too expensive for the county to fund.⁹

Bancroft was not discouraged by this setback and decided to meet the main objection to the plan by limiting public funding and putting most of the financial burden on private homeowners. He resubmitted the proposal a year later, adding a list of 130 proposed road names and calling for private subscription to pay for measuring and blocking roads. Individual address plates would be placed on entrances at the property owner's expense, and only after these steps had been completed would the county erect a few signs at intersections and elsewhere.

Stripped of its most distasteful feature, the plan was approved as a county ordinance on 8 March 1892. A committee of five—including Albert—was appointed to oversee the implementation and promotion of the system.¹⁰

For the next two years Bancroft and his associates made a valiant effort to make the Ten-Block System successful. Albert wrote descriptions of the plan and sent copies to newspapers throughout the nation. He obtained space in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago to display a map of Contra Costa County and illustrate his creation. The county's major newspaper assisted too. The *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette* was very interested in the promotion of the county, and reminded its readers that Bancroft had named his block system the "Contra Costa Plan" and that its residents would be remembered as pioneers in its adoption.

The paper regularly reported on the progress of the system, frequently reprinted the ordinance establishing the plan, and printed excerpts from approving editorials in other newspapers. One of its editorial reprints, this from the *New York Sun*, illustrated the major dilemma Bancroft tried to address:

*If you are a stranger in Hog Hollow and ask the way to Colonel Liberty Lumm's place, it doesn't greatly help you to be told to "go on a mile, but maybe its nigher two to the old Seth Pratt farm. Seth's dead, but his darters run the farm. Turn to your right till you come to Pogne's Woods. Take a short cut thru the medders tell you come back to the highway. Turn to the left a little beyond Seneca Wiggin's cider mill (its burned down now, but you can see the cellar if it ain't too dark). Take the first road to the east after you pass where the old Indian burying ground used to be, and Colonel Lumm's is the first white house beyond the haunted house north of the Davis pasture."*¹¹

Moore's auto dealership in San Bernardino, ca. 1906. The increasing use of automobiles to cover the vast and often desolate distances south of the Tehachapis brought pressure to bear for the improvement of roads.

Bancroft increasingly promoted the individual mailing address as one of the most significant features of his block system. He developed his plan at the same time that the U.S. Post Office's rural free delivery system was being formulated, and he believed that Ten-Block System addresses and county directories would greatly aid mail carriers in rural areas. Postmaster-General John Wanamaker expressed interest in the project, and a book written in 1892 describing the U.S. Post Office outlined Bancroft's plan and postulated that rural free delivery would be developed rapidly with the introduction of the Bancroft system and the improvement of roads. R.F.D. routes could not be established unless roads were kept in repair, and Bancroft was sure to mention that his system would encourage the care and improvement of roads by residents, as well as establishing their exact addresses.¹²

By mid-1893, the Ten-Block System seemed to be moving along very successfully in Contra Costa County. In September, the *Gazette* printed another large promotional piece on the progress of the system, including a list of residents of four of the county's new thoroughfares and illustrations from an article on the plan which had appeared in the *American Agriculturalist* in 1892. The *Gazette* also included a directory of county place names—a list of rather romantic homestead names with owner and block address—which became an almost daily feature growing in size as residents sent their information. Over \$1200 had been collected from local individuals to finance the work, and more was promised. Under the direction of H.M. Gregory of Concord, twenty-

one roads totaling about 150 miles had been measured and blocked, guide boards and other signs were being readied for installation, and some house numbers had already been attached to various structures.¹³

The rush of activity related to the Ten-Block System in 1893 proved to be the climax of efforts to promote it in Contra Costa. In 1894, the *Gazette's* support dwindled; it rarely mentioned the plan after the summer of that year. The *Gazette* printed the directory of place names frequently at the beginning of the year, but gradually published it less and less until it ceased this service entirely by late 1896. The directory itself did not grow appreciably after 1893. After September 1893, road measuring and blocking virtually ceased, as no new roads appeared in the last road progress report in the *Gazette* in December 1895. The few guide boards that were posted fell prey to vandals and thieves. The topic no longer appeared on the agenda of the county's board of supervisors or road committee, and future telephone and other directories failed to list block number addresses or even the names of the roads so carefully chosen by the Bancroftites. A decade after its introduction, the Ten-Block System was virtually unknown in Contra Costa County.¹⁴

The decline of Bancroft's system can be attributed primarily to economic factors. The plan was given little support by county government, which Bancroft believed should pay the entire expense by raising taxes on all residents of the county. The board of supervisors agreed to pay only for the cost of the signs that

would be erected after local residents had arranged for measuring, blocking, directories, and address plates. Since few roads were actually finished, the county paid little. Private subscriptions which would pay for the work were limited mainly to residents of rural areas who would benefit by the plan; since the system was not in effect in cities, few urbanites saw a need to contribute. The general reluctance to finance the system seems to have increased when the effects of the Panic of 1893 reached the West Coast.

Of equal importance for the decline, though, was the change in the economic condition of the system's creator. Albert Bancroft devoted much of his time and personal fortune to promoting his invention, and its early success was due in large part to his enthusiasm, hard work, and money spent to advertise it. In mid-1893, a company in which Albert owned considerable stock went bankrupt, and for the next two years he was involved in related litigation; he also lost a small fortune and his fashionable San Francisco residence. At this time his Ten-Block System was declining, and he did not have sufficient time or money to save it. It does not appear to be a coincidence, then, that the Ten-Block System expired in Contra Costa in 1896, the year Bancroft left his wife in charge of Aloha Farm and traveled south to Los Angeles to expand his dwindling business operations. Without its architect and chief promoter, the Ten-Block System movement in Contra Costa gradually declined and then abruptly disintegrated.¹⁵

Upon his arrival in Los Angeles in the fall of 1896, Bancroft began his missionary attempt to convert



Los Angeles County to his road-blocking plan. He studied the geography and history of the county in order to devise examples of road names and adapt other features of his plan to Los Angeles, and he prepared an article for local newspapers. In March 1897, the *Los Angeles Times* printed the story with illustrations and additional editorial support, urging its readers to clip and save it as the system was "likely, sooner or later, to come into general use." In the article Bancroft described his plan in glowing terms, exaggerating its development in Contra Costa, adding many examples of editorial support by various newspapers, and calling upon the local Merchants and Manufacturers Association to champion the cause in Los Angeles. Bancroft apparently found little financial or other support for his plan at this time, and the *Times* lost interest in promoting it.¹⁶

Once again the tenacious Bancroft

refused to give up after an initial defeat. From 1896 to 1900, his business sojourns in Los Angeles were too brief to mount a campaign for his road block system. In 1901, however, he started to appear in the city directory, indicating that his residence in Los Angeles was more permanent. Coincidentally—or probably not—the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors passed a resolution in February, 1902, appointing a committee of citizens from all over the county to study and name the county roads and "to report upon the advisability of having the country houses numbered according to the best known system."¹⁷

If it cannot be established that Albert Bancroft was the prime motivator for the creation of the "Highway Commission of Los Angeles County," it certainly can be verified that he was a major force in its direction and actions. At the first meeting of the commission in late

March, Bancroft addressed the committee at length, describing his system, its advantages, and proposals for its implementation. His presentation went far beyond previous descriptions of the Ten-Block System to envision the plan as resulting in a utopian road system with "colonades of trees along the roadside, cottage inns at convenient distances under public supervision, park-like schoolhouse tracts with libraries and social halls grouped near the schools" and other amenities. It was obvious to the *Los Angeles Times* reporter covering the meeting, and probably to the rest of the participants, that Bancroft's plan was the basis for the creation of the highway commission and the only proposal to be considered.¹⁸

During the next three years Bancroft's presence at commission meetings and the services he performed in furthering the commission's work were tireless, even though he was never an appointed

member. He appeared at numerous meetings, cajoled the members to adopt his system his own way, and suggested alternatives when problems arose. In order to help finance the work he suggested that private companies be allowed to advertise on the guide boards if they paid the full cost of the sign, a proposal the board of supervisors quickly rejected. The commission turned down Bancroft's offer to measure the roads himself for a small fee, so he did much of this work at no cost to the county. On other occasions he pressed the commission to lobby for the publication of a description of the Ten-Block System by the federal government, to work faster and convince the board of supervisors to spend more money on the project, and to cooperate with other groups working for road improvement. Until his departure from Los Angeles in the summer of 1905, Bancroft was a dominant influence on the commission responsible for carrying out his handiwork.¹⁹

The highway commission was composed of twenty-four men who resided in one of the five supervisorial districts in Los Angeles County and served gratis. The members included bankers, lawyers, physicians, editors, engineers, and those with more of a vested interest in road improvement—large-scale farmers, automobile dealers, and real estate developers—all of whom had reputations for civic improvement. At one time or another, forestry expert Theodore Parker Lukens of Pasadena, Venice developer Abbot Kinney, writer and astronomer William Henry Knight, Hollywood developer Hobart J. Whitley, and Automobile Club president Dr. Milbank Johnson

served on the commission. A complete list of county residents who were members at one time or another is impressive, although absenteeism at the meetings was very high, possibly the result of having to commute on bad roads. Due to the large size of the commission, an executive committee of nine which met monthly became its actual working body.²⁰

In six years of operation the highway commission performed various functions to improve the county roads. After securing a number of maps, the executive committee studied existing roads and topography and laid out the best routes possible for major county thoroughfares. The members acquired right-of-way agreements with private property owners for land needed for road expansion and realignment. The committee members then chose names for the roads and measured them with chains or Jones odometers from the county courthouse in downtown Los Angeles to the county line. At each mile point outside of the Los Angeles city limits the committee erected a concrete milestone denoting the name of the road, the distance from the courthouse, and the block number at that point. A few highway signs composed of 10-gauge boiler-plate iron fastened to twelve-foot galvanized iron posts were installed at various points as directional markers.²¹

The use of uniform concrete milestones in Los Angeles County was a Bancroft innovation. In Contra Costa, he had suggested using existing features such as telegraph poles, fences, and even rocks as block markers. In his 1897 article in the *Times*, he advocated the use of "block-stones with numbers chiseled upon them" because of their

permanence, at least on established public roads. Bancroft might have been influenced by the use of milestones for mail routes and toll roads in the eastern United States and Roman milestones that had survived for centuries in Europe, where he had first conceived of the Ten-Block System. At any rate, he wanted a more visible and permanent establishment of his system than was allowed in Contra Costa County. He persuaded the highway commission to produce two types of milestones which would be placed on the right side of the road at even-numbered block divisions every mile. The more common of the two was the country style—five feet long, 12 inches wide, and six inches thick, buried about 18 inches into the ground, rounded off at the top, with chiseled lettering including the initials of the road name, the two block numbers meeting at that point, and a circle near the top that surrounded the mileage to the courthouse. A "city-type" milestone used in the San Gabriel Valley exhibited the same information but was much less obtrusive—above ground level it was a twelve-inch cube with a slanted face. Both types were made of one part cement, two parts sand, and two parts crushed rock, the whole reinforced with strands of barbed wire fencing. These milestones had an air of dignity and permanence about them that soon made them the targets of riflemen and thieves.²²

The highway commission members also worked in other ways to advance road blocking and road improvement in general. Federal road officials, local politicians, and the secretary of the National Good Roads Association were invited to speak to the commissioners, and



the visitors usually asked for help in lobbying for good roads legislation. Commission Secretary William H. Knight tried to interest the U.S. Post Office in requiring the establishment of the Ten-Block System as a prelude to beginning rural free delivery service, but post office officials again lost interest after initial endorsements of the system. At least two commissioners were successful in promoting the plan through local newspaper stories describing the block system and the work of the commission.²³

By early 1908, the road-blocking commission had completed its work on six major thoroughfares. The *San Bernardino Road* was measured and blocked from East Los Angeles through Alhambra, El Monte, and Pomona, generally following what is now Valley Boulevard. *San Fernando Road* extended north through the valley to Newhall, where it turned eastward through Acton and then northward again through Palm-

dale and Lancaster to the Kern County line. *San Diego Road* moved southeast through Vernon, Downey, and Norwalk to Orange County. *Foothill Boulevard* left the Los Angeles city limits in South Pasadena, traveled north to Pasadena along Orange Grove Boulevard to Colorado Boulevard and eastward through Arcadia, Monrovia, Azusa, and Claremont. *Whittier Avenue* follows present-day Whittier Boulevard eastward from East Los Angeles through Montebello, Pico Rivera, and Whittier to the Orange County line. *El Camino Real*, the only finished road to extend westward, ran along Sunset Boulevard north of the Plaza, passed through Hollywood, and generally followed Ventura Boulevard through Calabasas to the Ventura County line. Two additional roads were being planned at the time, one along Washington Boulevard westward to Santa Monica, and another beginning in Monrovia and extending

southward to Long Beach. When the last two roads were completed, work could commence on blocking local roads to establish the address system more extensively.²⁴

Only one of the blocked roads raised a controversy for the commission. After setting out plans for Whittier Avenue and Santa Barbara Road, members of the El Camino Real Association tried to convince the commission to change the route of Whittier Avenue to pass by the San Gabriel Mission and to call the entire road from Orange County through Los Angeles to Ventura County "El Camino Real." Proponents justified the proposal on the grounds that this was only one part of an almost statewide highway which linked the California Missions from San Diego to Sonoma. The request was difficult to deny, since the efforts of the historical romantics in the El Camino Real Association were seen by many as a positive force in the good roads movement, and

Bancroft's road measurements would have helped this motorist calculate how much gas to carry and how long this trip through the San Fernando Valley would take.

since several of the members were also highway commissioners. As a compromise to Mrs. A.S.C. Forbes and her King's Road enthusiasts, the highway commission agreed to change the Santa Barbara Road to El Camino Real, while Whittier Avenue retained its name and route through the eastern portion of the county. As a result, only a small part of Whittier Avenue would exhibit both the milestones and the Mission bells placed along El Camino Real by the association.²⁵

Like the September 1893 article in the *Contra Costa Gazette* which had hailed the Bancroft system in that county at the peak of its popularity, a March 1908 story in the *Los Angeles Examiner* appeared at a similar moment for the Ten-Block System in Los Angeles County. The *Los Angeles* story praised the hard work of the road-blocking commission and the progress of the system in a manner similar to its *Contra Costa* predecessor, and the end of Bancroft's work followed in short order. Some of the reasons for the demise in both counties were similar, although in Los Angeles, quite ironically, the good roads movement played a large part.²⁶

The crusade for good roads in California picked up momentum after 1900, and in 1907 its followers successfully lobbied for a state law which allowed county governments to call special bond elections for the improvement of county highways. Good roads advocates in Los Angeles County pressed the supervisors to appoint a three-member highway commission to study the roads, devise a plan for road improvement, and estimate the cost of such im-

provements. This new highway commission spent almost a year on the project and presented the board of supervisors with a plan to improve substantially hundreds of miles of county roads at a cost of \$3.5 million. After a short and enthusiastic campaign waged by good roads supporters, the bond issue passed handily on 30 July 1908, establishing a tremendous financial pool, a definite plan of action, and a somewhat permanent assignment for the new highway commission.²⁷

Although the old and the new highway commissions were created for different purposes, the latter spelled the decline of the former. The new commission of 1907 was named the "Los Angeles County Highway Commission," forcing the old commission to rename itself the "Road Improvement Commission of Los Angeles County." The road-blocking group wished to cooperate with the new commission in all road matters, but the board of supervisors evidently believed that two road commissions were one too many. In May 1908, the board ordered the "Road Improvement Commission" to suspend its work until after the July bond election. This order was reported by the old road-blocking commission on 1 June 1908, its last day of existence. The new highway commission took the name of its predecessor, but declined to accept its mandate. In keeping with the assignment to plan and oversee the physical improvement of county roads, the new highway commission made no attempt to continue road blocking, and that effort came to an abrupt halt.²⁸

The dissolution of the old highway commission was the final blow for Bancroft's Ten-Block System in

Los Angeles County, but it surely was not the only factor. Economics contributed to the decision to abolish the commission. Over the six years of the commission's existence, the board of supervisors had been very frugal in meeting the financial needs of road blocking—paying for the production of the milestones and signs, for the salary of the executive committee secretary, and other costs. On various occasions the board expressed dissatisfaction with the commission's work, indicating that the price was too high for such minimal accomplishments. If it was true, as the *Examiner* article stated in March 1908, that the commission had been doing an exemplary job, it was also true that in six years only six major roads had been finished, several more needed to be measured and blocked, and a multitude of smaller roads extending from the major ones needed to be completed before the Ten-Block System could be used effectively. To anyone with a minimal understanding of Bancroft's system, particularly an elected county supervisor, it might have seemed obvious that at the current rate of progress, it would take many years and county funds to complete the project and put it into full operation.²⁹

The failure to publicize the work on the system and educate county residents to its advantages also played a role in the dissolution of the old road commission. In many communities there was little mention of the commission's activities and no explanation of the symbols on the milestones after installation. This lack of information was echoed in city directories of the era which failed to include block number addresses for residents who had them.



If the plan had been understood and publicized, it seems less likely that the supervisors would have allowed a somewhat institutionalized service to end so quickly.³⁰

As in Contra Costa County, the disappearance of the creator of the Ten-Block System was also a factor in the failure of his plan. While residing in Los Angeles, Albert Bancroft was able to campaign for the Ten-Block System, and his presence was missed when the curtain closed on the old highway commission in 1908. Bancroft left Los Angeles in June 1905, and traveled to Portland, Oregon, and then to the Midwest, ostensibly to locate relatives in Ohio. In Akron, Toledo, and Cleveland he tried to interest various groups in campaigning for his Ten-Block System and offered several "improvements"; changes in the total of numbers to a block and listing the road names on the address plate of every house, which was less expen-

sive and more permanent than erecting guide boards. In 1907, he traveled to Detroit, where he formed the Michigan Road-Blocking Association, although this venture never received government sanction. Bancroft finally returned to California, where he died in 1914.³¹

The legacy of Bancroft's "Ten-Block System for Numbering Country Houses" in California is significant, even though forgotten. True, the plan failed to take hold in both Contra Costa and Los Angeles counties, despite the raves of newspaper editors from across the nation. County supervisors gave up on the scheme, a plan for which historian Henry R. Wagner admitted that he could see no utility.³² Most of the few remaining milestones in Los Angeles County have been designated historical landmarks, although they are believed to be markers indicating altitude or the location of old stage stations. Others fell victim to

vandals and highway widening projects. Viewing our sprawling suburban housing tracts today, it is difficult to imagine how Bancroft's system could be used.

In its own era, however, an era of isolation and poor transportation and communications networks, the utility of the plan becomes more clear. Even in its failure, the Ten-Block System stimulated the development of highway planning and city-county communication that did not exist prior to the adoption of the plan. It offered a logical, although poorly understood, solution to the problem of identifying addresses and distances in rural areas if its costs could be met. If only in a minor way, Albert Bancroft's Ten-Block System was a contribution both to the good roads movement and to the process of modernization of American society that was taking place at the turn of the century. □

See notes beginning on page 226.

Philo Jacoby, the Champion of Veterans, has been winning prizes as usual, and no one is surprised. He is so clever with the rifle that he has almost ceased to be a wonder.

—Jack London¹



SCHÜTZENKÖNIG PHILO JACOBY

CALIFORNIA'S FIRST INTERNATIONAL SPORTSMAN

by William M. Kramer and Reva Clar

The rifle club phenomenon that was part and parcel of California history from the 1850s to the outbreak of World War I was an exciting chapter of the growth of the state. Rifle clubs came to the West as part of the immigration of Swiss and Germans to the Golden State. Actually, from about 1850 to 1915 *Schützen Clubs*, or shooting clubs, were to be found in communities across the nation. The place where they competed was generally called a Schützen Park and to insiders the society was known simply as the *gesellschaft* after the *Helvetia Schützen Gesellschaft* founded by Swiss-Germans in Highland, Illinois in 1853. When the sportsmen got together it was a festival, a *Schützenfest*. The first nationwide rifle shooting competition took place in Illinois in 1865 and "\$100.00 in cash and a handsome gold medal came from far off San Francisco." In that Western city, according to a "Historical Sketch" published in 1909, the local *Schützen Verein* was "conceived in patriotism, born of loyalty and affection, cradled, nurtured and reared in the golden sunshine and genial atmosphere of California." Its first meeting took place in Minerva Hall at Kearny and California streets on September 5, 1859; it was attended by a "little band of German-Ameri-

cans" who demonstrated that "the best and most patriotic Germans are the most loyal of American citizens." Among its all-time stars was Philo Jacoby.²

Captain John A. Sutter taught Jacoby how to be a marksman. The Kaiser of Prussia awarded him a prize rifle and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary decorated him. The press compared him to William Tell. He was also a professional strongman and the equal with his fists of his friend, Jim Jeffries.

Philo Jacoby was a California version of a Renaissance man. Like his name, he was Greek and Hebrew. In his life he upheld the athleticism and its love for the arts of Greece, and as a rabbi's son, he was true to the literary and ethical traditions of Judaism.

Now forgotten, Jacoby was one of the most honored and prestigious sportsmen of the nineteenth century. He was born on December 5, 1837, in Lauenberg, Pomerania (now Leborg, Poland) and after a traditional education was trained in a naval academy. After graduation he sailed for several years in the merchant marine services of Prussia, England, and the United States. On June 18, 1859, he arrived in San Francisco serving as third mate of the clipper ship *Whirlwind*, a name that well described the impact the young sailor was destined to make in the sport of rifle shooting and the field of jour-

nalism in American California.³

The young officer went first to Sacramento, where he worked as a printer, a trade he had learned in Germany. It was in Sacramento, soon after his arrival, that he was introduced to the competitive sport of sharpshooting. His instructor was an expert in the use of firearms—the charismatic Captain John A. Sutter (1803–1880), who was competing in a match there, whose name meant Gold Rush, and whose rifle was celebrated in Fort Sutter. When the captain asked the youthful spectator if he could shoot a rifle, Philo replied that he could not but would like to learn. Thereupon the captain "between events showed the fascinated young man how to pour powder into the muzzle of an ugly Swiss rifle, ram a wad of paper after it and insert the bullet."⁴ It was this lesson that fired the career which brought Jacoby world renown.

Before the end of 1859, Philo moved from Sacramento to San Francisco, where he opened a job printing office at the southwest corner of Clay and Sansome Streets a few doors from the offices of the *Call* and *Bulletin* where on various occasions he set type for the newspapers. The two dailies shared a single composing and press room, since the *Bulletin* was set up and printed during the day and the *Call* at night. Jacoby specialized in doing work for societies and lodges: con-



stitutions, by-laws, and ceremonial books.⁵

Jacoby's competence as a printer and his ability to make a profit did not escape the notice of Rabbi Julius Eckman, publisher and editor of the *San Francisco Weekly Gleaner*, whose office was nearby at 133 Clay Street. Eckman, a noted scholar and teacher, was chronically beset by financial problems.⁶ Observing in the young printer the business acumen and youthful vitality which he lacked, Eckman offered him a position. In April, 1862, the *Gleaner* carried a notice that Jacoby was running the *Gleaner's* business "with extraordinary zeal and devotion."⁷

Social life for Jacoby was flourishing and contributed to his business success. He noted that "a most popular family hotel" at the southeast corner of Sansome and Commercial Streets was run by Mrs. Stodole, a fine cook, and it was there that prominent young merchants gathered for their mid-day meal, among them members of the Hebrew Athletic Club, of which Philo was the leader. Mrs. Stodole provided a four pocket billiard table for the relaxation of her patrons, and financier

Jesse Seligman, an enthusiastic player, initiated Jacoby in "the gentlemanly pastime." During the fall of 1863, friends at Mrs. Stodole's broached the subject to him of starting a paper, "which should publish mainly records of current events, local and Pacific news, and give space to manly sports, especially athletics in which our Jewish young men . . . excelled."⁸

After due consideration, Jacoby decided to undertake the publication of the *Hebrew*. At the same time, Jacoby began to produce a German-language annual, *Philo Jacoby's Californischer Staats-Kalender*, which gathered together "much of special interest to our German-speaking fellow-citizens and their brethren in the Fatherland."⁹ Despite his later fame as a brilliant marksman, Philo never neglected his publications. Many years later the sporting reporter of the *San Francisco Call* told of encountering an obviously disturbed and glum Jacoby, "the oldest and probably the most popular member of the Schützen Club," on Market Street. When hailed by the newsman, Philo with a smile recited his tale of woe:

*Young man, I have cause to think deeply . . . I am at a great loss owing to the fact of having missed in the Clay-Street fire, a "Calendar" which I have spent months in formulating. The forms and blanks were in the keeping of Francis, Valentine & Co., and I fear they have been ruined. Well, I have one consolation in knowing that I still retain the proofs, and if the original matter has been destroyed by fire and smoke, I will be able to have my "Calendar" out in time to please my customers, anyhow.*¹⁰

Meanwhile Jacoby's bent for athletics developed as rapidly and successfully as his business ventures.

He was a charter member of the Olympic Club and the San Francisco Turn Verein, and in 1863 he joined the German rifle club. California's champion shot, Joseph Hug, was president of that group. When Philo attended his first shooting festival as a novice, the pupil of Sutter astonished his fellow members by making 101 bullseyes at 150 yards. This marked the beginning of his brilliant public career as a marksman,¹¹ but his athletic skills included physical prowess.

In his paper Jacoby was pro-Lincoln, much to the displeasure of an editor who took another stand and experienced Jacoby's editorial marksmanship. The anti-Lincoln writer announced that the next time he was in San Francisco he was going to horsewhip Jacoby. Indeed he came to the Bay City, whereupon a friend took him to see a sports exhibition at the Olympic Club:

*On the platform a heavysset, black-bearded little man twisted horseshoes, calmly bent a crowbar, and cracked cobblestones with his hand. When the pyramid was formed, he as the apex, fanned out six men. The country editor was profoundly impressed. "Wonderful," he said. "Most extraordinary! I never imagined that one man could possess such enormous strength. Who is that little man?"*¹²

His companion answered him that this was Jacoby and he presumed the visitor would make no effort to horsewhip the strongman. Legal scholar Nathan Newmark reported that as a young man Jacoby could "chin himself on a horizontal bar, holding himself only by the little finger of one hand." Though he was a peaceable man Jacoby used his strength when he thought it appro-

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Jacoby published the *Californischer Staats-Kalender* for years. After World War I, he anglicized the title to *California State Calendar* and used English as the primary language for its contents. This issue contains almanac-type information and long articles written in German, but the number of English advertisements indicates that merchants of all ethnic backgrounds considered German readers a desirable audience of potential buyers. Jacoby advertised himself (on the line below the date in the top section of the cover) as a "German and English book printer."

Jacoby was one of the organizers and publicists for the National Shooting Bund competition held at Shell Mound Park in 1901. The event attracted marksmen from around the United States and Europe.

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PHILO JACOBY



priate. As a naval officer "he could quell mutineers." When engaged in bucolic pasttimes he would, when "stirred up" by offenders, "knock out disturbance-breeding hoodlum picnickers with his wonderful punch."¹³

T rue to his journalistic pledge, Jacoby's ethnic paper carried sports news with an emphasis on the activities and accomplishments of the various San Francisco shooting clubs which brought together diverse groups in the democracy of sportsmanship. As his skills as a marksman developed, the editor added a column of his own called "Rifle Notes." This material and reprints from the daily and sporting press were a source for Jacoby's small volume *The Rifle in California*.¹⁴ It is in this book that we learn that the first longrange rifle match in California took place on March 15, 1865, between Alois Schneider, "an expert gunsmith and good shot," and Philo Jacoby, "the writer, . . . a young marksman with some skill and more nerve." The match was held near the beach in Alameda and Jacoby won.¹⁵

Marksmen and shooting fans who read the *Hebrew* were kept informed on foreign as well as domestic events, such as a German rifle meet in Bremen during the summer of 1865.¹⁶ In a foreshadowing of the Franco-Prussian War, a more serious and potentially deadly form of shooting was implied with a brief notice, "A new rifle is about to be adopted in the French army. It is a breechloader, and said to be superior, in every respect to the Prussian rifle."¹⁷

The prevalence and appeal of shooting clubs, or Schützen Vereins,

in San Francisco may be more readily understood through the local announcements of their activities. The air was sometimes filled with music as well as shots, and a place was found for the ladies as spectators and as dance partners to be guided by the strong arms of the shooters. Such events were announced routinely in the *Hebrew*, where one can read of a "Target Excursion"

*at the Odeum, near the Mission Dolores, on Sunday next. In addition to company drill and shooting for prizes, there will be a diversity of concert and dance music to enliven the proceedings. The festivities will terminate by a grand ball, at Platt's Music Hall, commencing at 8 o'clock in the evening.*¹⁸

Philo's journal, in reporting on the San Francisco Schützen Verein, noted that

*This fine body of [largely] German citizen soldiers, numbering nearly one hundred men, held their annual target excursion, last Sunday, at Belmont Park. The shooting, especially at the general target, was excellent. At the latter, Messers. Mentel, Jacoby, Browning and Schroeder shot twenty rings in two shots, the highest possible number*¹⁹

In 1868, Philo was chosen by the California marksmen as their delegate to the first great American Bund Shooting Festival in New York. Although the event was scheduled for the month of June, Jacoby left San Francisco on January 1, 1868, in order that he might first participate in the many shooting festivals in Prussia, Austria and Switzerland. This he did with notable success.²⁰ In New York City, before embarking for Europe, he had a visit with the editor of the *Hebrew Leader*, who reported that Jacoby was carrying letters from the United States Gov-

ernment to the Honorable George Bancroft, Minister to Berlin. He was also the official representative of the American Sharpshooting Association of New York for *Schützenfests* in Vienna and Berlin.²¹

In the German capital, Philo was the guest of the *Berliner Schützen Gilde* at their shooting range in the midst of the town. It was there that he learned to manipulate the needle gun, then a new weapon for the infantry, part of Prussia's answer to the French breechloader. Using the new rifle, Jacoby won a match against a German army sergeant. As a result, he was presented with a needle gun and 200 cartridges by King Wilhelm, under condition that he use it at the American Bund Shooting in its contest of army guns. When the time came, Jacoby won the prize for the most hits. On this overseas tour the Kaiser offered a commission to Jacoby if he would become the rifle expert of the Prussian forces, "but he preferred to retain his American citizenship." In 1909 the San Francisco Schützen Verein would recall the incident and remark that the emperor had given the Polish-Jewish Jacoby the needle gun "as a token of his appreciation of the performance with the rifle by a native of Germany who had become a loyal and patriotic citizen of the United States, who reflected credit upon both, his fatherland and his adopted country."²²

The declaration of war between France and Germany in 1870 caused great excitement in the ranks of San Francisco marksmen. On August 14, 1870, Philo and the German consul for San Francisco organized a shooting festival for the benefit of the wounded in the Franco-German War. The event was held at Harbor View Park and was a great success, since



many valuable prizes were donated by San Francisco citizens. Philo himself added a generous cash contribution to the proceeds through a most original attraction:

*A unique feature was the competition with the Needle Gun which Philo Jacoby had brought from Berlin in 1868. Of the 200 cartridges presented to him together with the gun, he had 158 left, which were shot off at \$1.00 a piece at a bullseye target.*²³

A total of \$1,285 was raised and was sent by the consul to the relief committee in Berlin the next day.²⁴

During this period, Jacoby accepted a position as war correspondent for the *Alta California*, then the most prominent daily morning paper in San Francisco, and on August 27, 1870, he left for France. Arriving in Chicago on September 3, he learned of the capture of Emperor Louis Napoleon and witnessed the great demonstration staged by Chicago's German citizens. In the correct belief that the war was just about over, Jacoby proceeded to the American sharpshooters Bund Festival in Washington, where he won the "Kingship," the king medal and \$100.²⁵ In the national capital and in the ranks of sportsmen, the young Californian had achieved royalty.

Along with his fame as a marksman, Jacoby continued to demonstrate his astounding physical strength in formal athletic events and to lend a fillip to social affairs. When the Eureka Social Club of San Francisco held its seventh annual "Bal Masque" in the spring of 1871, Jacoby "was perfectly *au fait* in the 'Harlequin'—and during intervals carried Harlequin No. 2 on his shoulders and did many appropriate tricks."²⁶

The world Exposition at Vienna in 1873 drew Jacoby abroad again to compare his skill with that of the world celebrated European champions at contests in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. Leaving San Francisco in May, 1873, Philo first attended the Cantonal Shooting Festival in Zurich from June 20 to June 30. Although he had brought his heavy muzzle-loading rifle along, he found that only open sight breechloaders were allowed, so he hired a Vetterli (sometimes Vetterly) rifle from Joseph Staub, the celebrated shooting king and keeper of the armory. This rifle was patterned after the Prussian needle gun but weighed less and required just three movements to load as against six for the needle gun. By careful organizing and with the determination to shoot through a heavy wind and rainstorm, Jacoby ended the day with 589 shots scored out of 1,158 fired, 54 more than his nearest competitor.

The Californian was crowned with a laurel wreath and escorted with music to the banquet hall, where hundreds of marksmen enjoyed a splendid meal and wine. As was his custom when his winnings included cash, Philo gave his 500 francs to the club members for "Schützen Wine." Jacoby was toasted as the first non-Swiss shooting King in the history of shooting in Switzerland, to which the pupil of Sutter replied that his teachers in the art of marksmanship were his Swiss comrades in California, who would be delighted at his success. At the close of the banquet, the president of the festival brought Philo in a carriage to the Atlantic Cable Company's office, where the new champion sent a one-word message of triumph to his Swiss

friends in San Francisco: "Schuetzenkoenig." No more had to be said.²⁷

Leaving Zurich, Jacoby next competed for one day at the Cantonal Shooting in Zofingen, where he won silver goblets and other prizes. The following week an eight-day Cantonal Shooting Festival was scheduled for Solothurn, and Philo took the train from Zurich to that town. He was riding in an open passenger car. When the train entered the Solothurn station it ran directly into another train that had been left standing on the same track. Seeing the danger, the occupants of the open car jumped. One of the first to leap was Jacoby, who was not injured until a 200-pound Swiss mountaineer marksman landed on him and the spikes of his boots tore a deep gash in Philo's right hip. Doctors sewed up the wound and advised hospitalization, but the Californian refused.

The accident occurred about 11 a.m., the shooting was to start at 1 p.m., and the determined Jacoby, with the help of the remorseful mountaineer who had innocently caused the mishap, arrived on time and ready to compete. Despite some unsteadiness in his legs he "kept pegging away" until he finally won his goblet; by then he could hardly keep upright. Accompanied by a great many marksmen, the mountain sharpshooter carried Jacoby on his shoulders to receive his hard-earned trophy. Then the doctors got him into the hospital where he lay unconscious for the next three days "in high wound-fever." He regained consciousness on a Wednesday and by Friday was back at the shooting festival with the aid of crutches. There he won a second prize consist-



ing of 500 francs, a fine, silver-ornamented Vetterli military rifle, and three cases of champagne. The wine, of course, he poured for the Festival Committee.²⁸

Coincidental with the World Exposition, a great shooting contest with military rifles took place in Vienna in July. The shooting ranges were at the *Militär Schiessstätte* army range in the Prater, about a mile from the World Exposition buildings. All competitors had to use the Austrian Werdt Gewehr rifle, one of which with ammunition was given free to all contestants. Philo won the first prize: a gold medal, 500 gulden, and a large, high-quality field glass.²⁹ Always cognizant of his equally important role as a professional journalist and experienced observer, he attended the exposition and on July 3 sent a report to his paper. Philo was sorely disappointed to find California poorly represented by meager displays. The only Golden State articles to be found were Sonoma wines and champagnes from S. Groezinger, and wines from the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society. The remainder of the California display consisted of a buggy from the Kimbal Manufacturing Company and a few silk-worm cocoons.³⁰ It was during his Vienna triumph that Emperor Franz Joseph presented Philo Jacoby with a gold medal.³¹

Jacoby's next contest was the *Rheinischen Bundes* Shooting Festival in Düsseldorf, Germany. He was given a place of honor in a great procession and "carried in the muzzle of his Vetterli one of the handsome small American flags with a golden bear painted upon it, which a Mr. Pasquale of San Francisco had furnished him. When passing a large building many young ladies rushed

out, and marching along cheered the flag most lustily. These were American students at the Düsseldorf Painting Academy."³² Philo won again, receiving the King prizes which were presented to him at a *Schützen Reigen* crowning, where a crowd of marksmen clasped hands and danced around the Californian.³³

Jacoby's return from the Viennese contest was hailed by a New York journal, which announced that, "The well-known Philo Jacoby . . . has just returned from Europe with a bushel-full of prizes for the best shooting with gun and rifle."³⁴ When he arrived in San Francisco, *his comrades of the rifle gave him a grand reception. The San Francisco Turner Schuetzen (whom he represented and in its white uniform he competed in all his contests in Europe) . . . turned out in a body, while hundreds of other marksmen and friends . . . each bearing torches and headed by a fine band, escorted Jacoby through the principal streets to Martin's restaurant on Commercial Street, where an excellent banquet was enjoyed by all.*³⁵

In January 1876, Philo organized the California Schützen Club, whose charter members elected him president. Seven of them formed the celebrated California team which won the majority of first prizes and the championship cup at the Grand International Shooting Tournament of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Each member of the California team received one of the ten diplomas given there for Masters of Sharpshooting, and Philo, their champion, was awarded a special gold medal.³⁶ In the competing countries, 20,000 contestants had participated in the preliminary matches; for the final eliminations, 200 of the world's leading marksmen assembled in Philadelphia, and it was

Philo Jacoby of San Francisco who was again proclaimed "Champion Rifle Shot of the World."³⁷

One of Philo's trips abroad included a visit to England, where he participated in a rifle contest. The event was held near the home of the great philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885). Philo became acquainted with Sir Moses, who thereafter sent his subscription to Jacoby's paper every year "in an envelope fastened with his silver seal."³⁸

Like the Swiss and Germans, the men of San Francisco's large Italian population were also trained to display their gun skills in "the crack Italian military company, Bersagliere." At their public prize shooting at Harbor View Park, the first prize gold medal went to Philo Jacoby for "31 rings out of a possible 36." Fifty-calibre Remington rifles were used, the target 24 inches, and the distance 200 yards.³⁹

So great was Philo's fame at this point that his name was linked with that of the legendary Swiss rifleman when the press, reporting on another competition, commented that, "Our marksman made a shot that Jacoby or even [William] Tell would envy."⁴⁰

Philo felt a special affinity for the Swiss marksmen which dated back to his early days in California. In his autobiographical book, he offered a background to his introduction to the sport of shooting:

Several Swiss Gold hunters brought the first target rifles to California. Many of the citizens from the land of William Tell domiciled in Sacramento, the main attraction being no doubt the presence of General Sutter. Here in 1853, the Sacramento Swiss Rifle Club (now Sacramento Helvetia Rifle Club) the oldest rifle organization in California was started.



Cover of the program for a festival held in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the San Francisco Schützen-Verein. The banners below the target in the lower right corner read, "Give eye and hand for the Fatherland" and "Yet thy best strength is brotherhood."

Marksmen in a field littered with spent ammunition watch a competitor shoot.





*First the club had a shooting stand across the Sacramento River in Yolo County, and here in August 1859, the writer first learned to load and shoot the muzzle loading heavy Swiss rifle. General Sutter presented the club with a formidable cannon which was used in announcing the beginning and closing of the shooting festivals then held regularly.*⁴¹

When the California Schützen Club held its final shooting for 1884 on December 21, Philo Jacoby, who shot 429 rings, received the champion medal. In his "Rifle Notes" column, Jacoby described the award medals, which were manufactured by a Mr. Bannet, a Schützen Club member: "They are very tastefully gotten up out of solid gold having a round raised place with inscription for a center on which is a Grizzly Bear surrounded by a laurel wreath."⁴²

Shooting events again drew Jacoby to Europe in 1890 and he "gained signal successes at the rifle competition, held in Berlin."⁴³ In Switzerland he again won the world's rifle championship.⁴⁴ On his return to San Francisco Philo was received by various societies and military companies with a torchlight procession and a grand banquet at Turnverein Hall. The enthusiastic riflemen of California honored with a "magnificent diamond badge."⁴⁵

The indefatigable Philo, noted in his prime not only as a strongman but as a great wrestler and gymnast, put these talents to use in aiding another San Franciscan who was destined for fame in the sports world. Jacoby, the world champion marksman, helped in the training of James "Gentleman Jim" Corbett, who became world heavyweight boxing champion.⁴⁶ Jacoby also met another world heavyweight champion pugilist, James Jeffries, in a

verbal encounter that proved Philo's wit to be as on-the-mark as his shooting skill. He took delight in telling of the incident:

I was introduced to him as the shooting king, and he looked at me and smiled.

"Such a little man as you are the shooting king," said Jeffries with a chuckle.

*"Yes, Mr. Jeffries," I answered. "If you stood a foot away from me you could knock me out with one blow, but I could kill you with one shot if I stood 3000 feet away from you."*⁴⁷

The high point of the classical history of the rifle came in 1901 when the National Shooting Bund virtually took over the Bay Cities for a major event. Men like Jacoby mobilized and organized. As a newspaperman Jacoby helped publicize the *Fest* at Shell Mound Park in Berkeley by participating although he was in his mid-sixties, old for that time, and still suffering leg injuries. As Jack London noted, he was "winning prizes as usual."⁴⁸ This was the "greatest shooting . . . the National Bund has ever known," said the current champion William Hayes, and he added that even if he lived to be a hundred he would not expect to see a greater one.⁴⁹ The Germanic tradition was present in full glory. Indeed, it was the "lingo of the game" even for those who were neither raised in that tongue nor spoke it. After a good score on the Honor or Three-Shot target, for example, it was the custom for the performer to lead his comrades to the bar and toast: "*Gesundheit guter Schiezer*."⁵⁰ The Germanic usage was carried on by the many who did not share that origin. Participants in the 1901 *Fest* included John T. Humphrey and Chester Coombe of the Massachu-

setts Rifle Association, W. Milton Farrow and S.I. Scott of the Amateur Rifle Club of the District of Columbia, J.B. Cavanaugh of the San Francisco Police Department and Herbert Henderson, another peace officer and a native of Oklahoma.⁵¹ Like Jacoby they all favored the old twenty-five ring German target from a standing position at 200 yards. These riflemen were not "belly whoppers" except for the few who favored a military style of shooting and hugged the earth. It was the chosen German way, though in 1901 the Teutonic influence was lessened when at the *Fest* a session was designated as "California Pioneers and Native Sons' Day."⁵²

The 1901 spectacular attracted visitors from all over the world. Civic greetings were brought to the international gathering by Mayor James D. Phelan, who praised the riflemen, saying "with this perfection in the use of arms we have the best assurance of peace. . . ." To his fellow American sharpshooters he added, "you come here . . . to defend the future honor of the nation." Actually there were overseas competitors as well as domestic participants. Under a banner headline announcing that "Riflemen From Every State in the Union Gather at Shell Mound to Compete for Valuable Trophies," the *Chronicle* observed, "Like an army with banners the members of the National Shooting Bund took possession of San Francisco. . . . That there had been no abridgement of the right of the people to bear arms was illustrated by the fact there nearly every other man met on the thoroughfares of the city carried a rifle."⁵³ A novelty at the contests was the appearance of a young San Francisco woman, Mrs. A. H. Pape of



2121 Leavenworth street, who "in three shots established an unprecedented record for her sex." She fired at the Honor or Eureka target, an eighteen-inch circle with a twelve-inch bullseye at a distance of 600 feet. Mrs. Pape was in her early twenties.⁵⁴

And, of course, while youth and femininity were served, so were age and masculinity in the person of Jacoby. The *Chronicle* recorded that Jacoby received a gold medal at the matches, which were attended by a crowd of 14,000 at the three-acre site in Berkeley. His picture was featured in the press holding a model 1885 Winchester single-shot target, or Schützen rifle. That weapon (along with the Stevens) was the favorite of Californians, who liked its strength and well-protected breech block. It is a handsome piece, graceful and functional in appearance.⁵⁵

The *Chronicle* reporter looked to the aging Jacoby and wrote, "A shooting fest without Philo Jacoby would be like the oft-told-of play of 'Hamlet' with no mention of the melancholy Dane." He had spoken to Philo, who told him, "I have just won another gold medal. My eye is about as good as ever, and my hand is steady, but my leg that was hurt pains me, so I don't expect to stay up with the youngsters who have developed in the half century since I began to shoot."⁵⁶ In 1901 Jacoby was down a little but not out of the limelight. When his fellow San Franciscan Adolph Strecker was named king of the event, it was Jacoby's California Schützen Club which honored him. At a special meeting the old master made the tribute.⁵⁷ As a member of the publicity committee of the Fest, Jacoby must have been delighted with visitors who com-

mented that the preparations of 1901 "demonstrate that no contest ever had such perfection of ranges and arrangements." And in language to delight the hearts of the Chamber of Commerce the retiring King of the Shooters said:

*We have met the Californians before and know them as marksmen and gentlemen, but we have thought that they were drawing the long bow when they dwelt on the beauties of the climate. Now we know that the bow was not drawn long enough. After the sweltering heat of the East your cool breezes are refreshing indeed.*⁵⁸

Jacoby, already a legend, rose to competition again in 1915 at the great exposition in San Francisco. Then it was reported that "Philo Jacoby won the first goblet in the first rifle competition of the festival. . . . If I remember correctly, Jacoby was a member of the old Centennial team."⁵⁹ His triumphs at the Philadelphia meet were hardly recalled, however.

Even the hardest strongman and athlete must confront the onset of old age, and Philo, the champion, could no longer bear the heavy weight of the passing years. He was eighty when it was reported that the "aged publisher" was in the German hospital, where he was slowly improving from an illness which for a time appeared to be dangerous.⁶⁰ Jacoby did recuperate from this illness, but in his eighty-third year was again "recovering rapidly from a recent attack of hemorrhage." Several months later another sick spell confined him again to the Franklin hospital,⁶¹ but undefeated by ill health and still the strongman at heart, Philo resumed his "Rifle and Gun Notes" column.⁶²

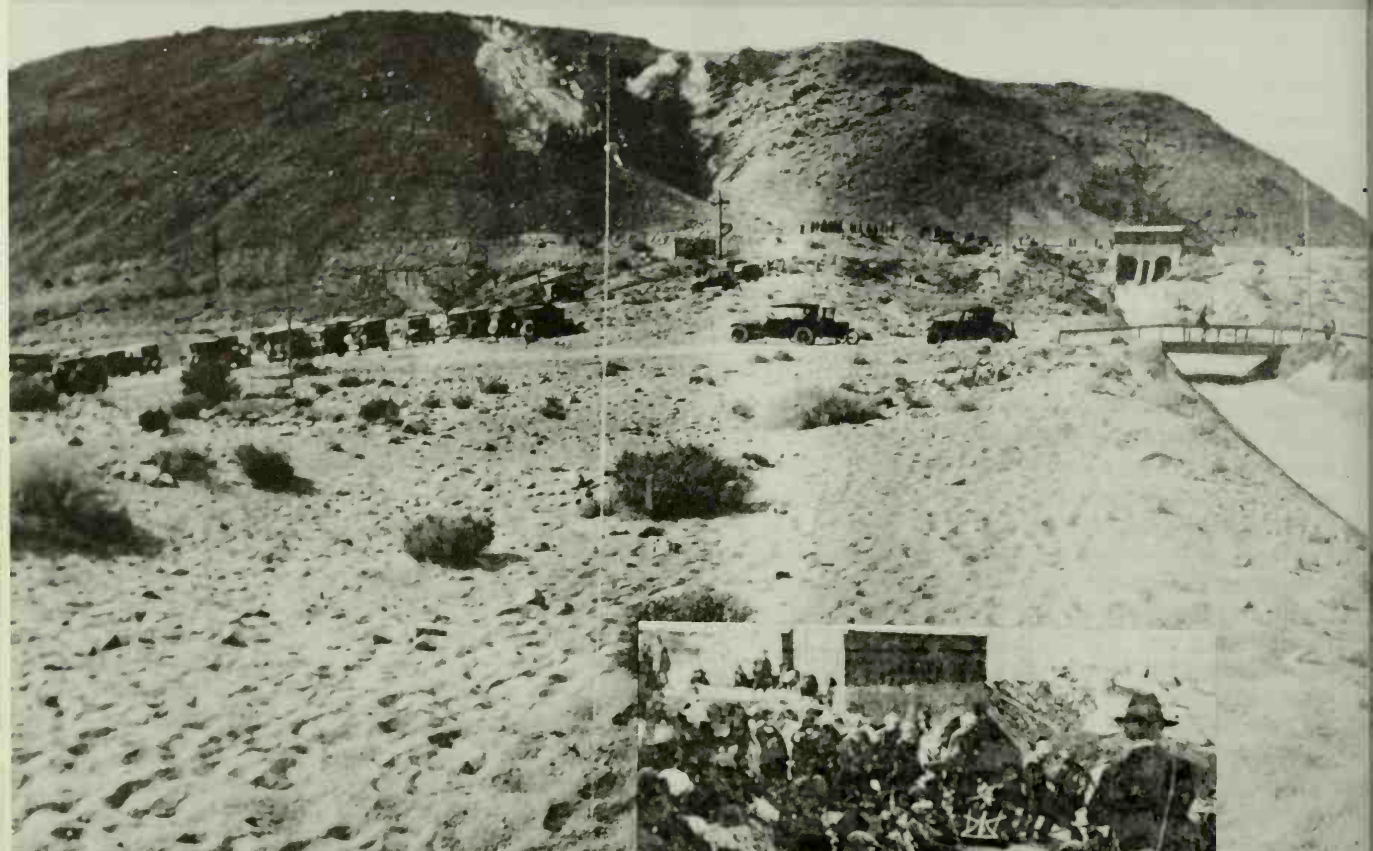
When death claimed bachelor

Philo Jacoby on March 25, 1922, he had been under medical care at the Franklin Hospital for more than a year. A San Francisco daily paper reported the news: "World Famous Marksman Dies, Aged 84 Years." According to one obituary, "with his demise there passes one of the most picturesque figures of the early San Francisco"; it observed that for thirty-five consecutive years Jacoby was president of the California Schützen Verein and for over fifty years a member of the San Francisco Turn Verein. Of his immediate family members only his sisters, Natalie Simon and Teresa Pollak, both of San Francisco, survived him. His funeral services were held at the home of Mrs. Pollak, 1760 Bush Street, with burial at the Colma, California Home of Peace Cemetery. Squads from the Turner Schützen and the California Schützen Club fired the customary three volleys over the grave when Rabbi Jacob Nieto concluded the service.⁶⁴

So entered into history a man who brought honor to his adopted home town, state and country. He was described as a San Francisco gentleman with excellent social standing. Philo remained always in the public eye and, in his later years, delighted in riding in a carriage in civic parades, his breast covered with medals that represented only a portion of his trophies.⁶⁴

Philo was an ideal ambassador for California. In a refreshing refutation of stereotypes, his brawn was matched by his brains. His character was unblemished. Philo Jacoby, the sharpshooter, was right on target as a true pioneer of American California and its first sportsman of international repute. □

⁶⁴See notes beginning on page 226.



Scene at the Alabama Gates occupation,
November 16, 1924.

COURTESY, SISKIYOU COUNTY MUSEUM

Los Angeles newspapers ran photo features and extensive reporting of the occupation. In the top scene, an impromptu orchestra sets up to entertain the occupiers. The sign in the inset was displayed in Bishop.

LOS ANGELES TIMES



PICNIC AT ALABAMA GATES

THE OWENS VALLEY REBELLION

1904–1927

by John Walton

EARLY on the Sunday morning of November 16, 1924, seventy men from Bishop, California, drove south in a caravan of Model T Fords through the narrow Owens Valley and took possession of the Los Angeles Aqueduct at the Alabama Gates spillway. By midmorning a crowd of several hundred valley residents had gathered at the site five miles north of Lone Pine to watch most of the Los Angeles water supply flow out of its concrete channel into the dry bed of the Owens River. A rebellion was under way. A rebellion whose social composition and local meaning remain obscure in histories preoccupied with the morals and motives of expansionary politics in Los Angeles.

The scene at the spillway soon transformed into a celebration of civic solidarity and feisty yet good-humored resistance to the metropolitan Goliath. The county sheriff, a friend and sympathizer of the trespassers, appeared with the obligatory appeal to desist and began recording names for future summonses. The insurgents declined his request, explaining that they would occupy the gates "until we gain our point," while insisting that the sheriff "put my name down" on his list

to affirm their participation.¹ When the Inyo County judge at Independence was pressed by Los Angeles officials to issue arrest warrants, he disqualified himself in the case, citing a personal interest. No arrests were made. Local law was with the rebels.

By November 18, seven hundred people gathered at the Alabama Gates during the daylight hours—all enjoying the excitement, some drawn by rumors of coming retaliation by the city ("civil war feared" said one Los Angeles newspaper). The majority demonstrated the concerned mood of the agricultural and commercial communities in the Bishop area. In that town fifty miles to the north a professionally painted billboard mounted at the principal intersection read, "If I am not on the Job you can find me at the Aqueduct." Recruits spelled each other in night-long vigils, training searchlights on the highway approach from Los Angeles and the Mojave Desert. Elderly residents today remember delivering five-gallon cans of milk and homemade cakes. On November 19 a grand barbecue was provisioned by Bishop grocers, butchers, and bakers. A rancher in adjacent Mono County cabled a friend "aboard the aqueduct" indi-

cating that some "cattle are just north of you across the ditch. Tell Jim to collect the fat ones for your barbeque. You are welcome as long as they last." Western movie star Tom Mix, who was filming in the nearby Alabama Hills, brought his crew and a Mariachi band. The *Los Angeles Daily Times*, perhaps downplaying the crowd with an estimate of 350, observed nevertheless that "Owens Valley Ranchers Picnic as Water is Wasted," "Camp at Aqueduct is Center of Family Life—Some Women Cook for Watchers While Others Care for Tots; Girls Form Orchestra."²

Behind these festive scenes, however, was cold fear and a desperate political gamble. The Owens Valley rebels rationally feared for their property, income, independence, community, and their way of life—all endangered by the city's steady appropriation of land, water rights, and power to decide the valley's fate. A prescient few, such as the novelist Mary Austin, had already mourned the valley and moved on. By 1924 the growing resistance movement had lived with the aqueduct for eleven years; during the last five water shortages had become more frequent, economic insecurity had increased, and negotiations

A thriving local economy was evident in the variety of businesses along Bishop's Main Street during the first decade of the twentieth century.

LAWS RAILROAD MUSEUM

with the city had bogged down in frustration.

The seizure of the Alabama Gates marked the culminating failure of a process of political negotiation between valley representatives and the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP), which managed the aqueduct as a city public utility. At issue was the allocation of water for use in the valley. The city required that the aqueduct be kept full and allowed water to be diverted to the valley only after selected and court-ordered allotments had been met. Years of negotiation and, now, open rebellion sought to reverse these terms or to arrange collective land and water rights sales with reparations for financial loss.

The occupation was carefully planned. The rebels timed their move to coincide with the visit of one of their number to a group of Los Angeles bankers who were asked to serve as mediators in the escalated struggle with the city. An engineer and former DWP employee was recruited to open the hydraulically operated spillgates and then remove all the handles and levers with which normal operation could be restored. The plan—which almost succeeded—was to create an event of such notoriety that the governor, at the request of the county sheriff and district attorney, would send the state militia to “oust” the trespassers (who were ready to be arrested for the cause), restore order, and thereby affirm the extremity of local conditions. The valley story would finally be told beyond its ten-

by-one-hundred-mile compass along the eastern Sierra. State intervention, public opinion, and fair play, the rebels were persuaded, would produce a just settlement in which the city and the valley could prosper together.

Indeed, California’s “Little Civil War” was reported in supportively picaresque tones from Los Angeles to Paris. The Inyo County district attorney personally carried his request to the governor in Sacramento, and the sheriff sent two urgent telegrams. Only Governor Friend Richardson departed from the plan. Instead of sending state troops to enter a dispute between state jurisdictions, he sent an investigator. After four full days on the small hill above the Reno-Los Angeles highway, the rebels received word from their emissary to the bankers: the bankers would use their good offices in new negotiations. On that promise, the rebels closed the Alabama Gates. Celebration of the small victory featured another picnic with 1,500 supporters, songs, moist eyes and encouraging speeches.

With the first sign of good will—a flattering nod from the powerful received self-effacingly—the rebels gave up the strongest position they would ever hold against the city. They soon paid the wages of their naive optimism. Yet since 1904 they had carried on a resistance movement distinguished by a rare degree of town-farm political solidarity and inventive forms of collective organization. They left a legacy of struggle for local and environmental rights which is still recalled, but the record of who they were, how they fought and what they wanted remains largely unexplored.

Popular theories sprang up to explain the rebellion, and, as the years passed, some found their way into authoritative accounts. Powerful groups in Los Angeles and the DWP averred that lawless elements or a radical fringe had taken charge in the troubled community. Contemporary newspapers and subsequent local and academic histories reasoned that “the ranchers” were the perpetrators since it was their water and livelihood which were at stake.⁵ Cynics countered that although the rebels were landowners threatened by dispossession, their motives were speculative—to drive up the prices Los Angeles would eventually pay for their water rights. The Los Angeles Board of Public Service Commissioners patronizingly characterized the rebellion as “the mental reactions of a pioneer community . . . uninformed and unaccustomed to the ways of the outside world.”⁶ The truth was deeper than any of these theories: it lay beneath a social structure and pattern of civic participation which was never analyzed.

APPRECIATION of the society of the Owens Valley begins with the pioneer experience. From the early 1860s until the turn of the century a frontier community settled the valley, joined the U.S. Cavalry in suppressing and exiling the indigenous Paiute Indians, wrestled homesteads from the desert, and built a network of farms and commercial towns whose economy relied on supplying provisions and services to an outer ring of mining centers.⁷ Agriculture thrived on the abundance of water and suitable land, although the pioneers had little knowledge of scientific farming

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and flooded their fields in a profligate and unsound agronomy.⁸ They excelled, however, in the development of an irrigation system borrowed from the Indians. According to one local history:

*There was much swamp land around Big Pine . . . Drain ditches were finally dug which carried much of the water away . . . North of town was the Big Pine Ditch, a canal built in the eighties by ranchers along its course. During its construction, after the crops were harvested in the Fall, the men would take their horses and mules, their dredges and shovels, and spend as much time as possible working on this waterway. Most of the canals in the valley were built by donated labor. Water for this ditch was taken from the river a few miles south of Bishop and water gates were put in for all the ranches it crossed.*⁹

In partnership and cooperative endeavors, the settlers built an intricate system of stream-diverting canals which coursed over 110 miles and irrigated 60,000 acres by the early 1900s.¹⁰ More than a dozen cooperatively organized "ditch companies" levied construction fees and demanded labor commitments, even-handedly allotted water to

members, and governed the material conditions of agricultural production in a rustic democracy.

The canal companies operated mainly in the northern reaches of the valley where harvests were copious and diversified. Because the temperate climate, water, and soil quality diminish toward the southern end of the valley, stock ranching and orchards predominated there. The value of agricultural production increased four-fold from 1910 to 1920, led by livestock, alfalfa and hay, cereals, wool, dairy products, grapes, honey, potatoes, and fruit. Town businesses flourished: banks, groceries, hardware stores, liverys and garages, clothing and home furnishings, builders and real estate brokers, hotels, drugstores, ice plants, and a myriad of others. Between 1900 and 1920 the total value of property assessed for county taxes rose from \$1.8 million to \$5.9 million.¹¹

The valley prospered, but never boomed. For one thing, the separate mining centers (Kearsarge, Cerro Gordo, Tonopah and Goldfields) did boom for brief periods and then collapsed, creating wide fluctuations in demand. For another, communi-

cation with outside markets was always poor. A narrow-gauge railroad arrived from Carson City in 1873, but it was designed primarily to serve the mines, running along the eastern edge of the valley and providing very indirect service to San Francisco. Rail connections with Los Angeles via Mojave came only in 1910, when a road was built in support of the aqueduct construction. The initiative for most trips by road and twenty-mule-team wagon between the valley and the southern metropolis came from the valley end. Los Angeles enjoyed closer links to other agricultural areas and, with the availability of Owens Valley water, began developing its own San Fernando Valley.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the valley grew slowly, ruled by the egalitarian constraints of its modest physical endowments and pioneer ethos. Social and economic differences were marked, but not extreme. Between 1900 and 1920 the Inyo County population increased from 4,337 to 7,031 and the number of farms rose from 424 to 521. A reversal in the amount of farm acreage occurred between 1900 and 1910 when the federal gov-

Contrary to the assumptions of some of their metropolitan critics, the leading citizens of the Owens Valley were sober but active participants in the politics of their day. This 1916 rally in Bishop to support Prohibition must have reflected in part a desire to assert the values of a settled, middle-class society over the unruliness of the frontier.

LAWS RAILROAD MUSEUM



ernment withdrew lands from public use for a water project—the Los Angeles project as it turned out. In the same years, however, irrigated land increased from 41,026 to 65,163 acres. In 1920 the farms were of middling size, near the state average of 250 acres and smaller yet on the better, irrigated land around Bishop, where the average holding was 102 acres. Most (80 percent) of these farms were owner-operated, and 56 percent were mortgage-free; 70 percent had been mortgage-free in 1910.

Socially the community was far from homogeneous. The *Great Register of Inyo County* in 1894 showed that 32 percent of the 1,078 voters were foreign born, mostly from Great Britain and northern Europe (72 percent of all foreign born were in these two categories). Among the 68 percent U.S. born, however, a decided minority (just 22 percent) came from California and Nevada; the rest came from a wide selection of other states, including New York, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Maine, and Iowa. There is no particular pattern to the migration, such as a predominant flow from the economically troubled southern and border states where

the Populist movement thrived. Among the registered voters, of course, certain national and ethnic categories were underrepresented. The 1920 census shows that the percentage of foreign born in the county had dropped to 13 (down from 21 percent in 1910) but that Mexicans were the third largest foreign born group after Canadians and English. Indians comprised 9 percent of the population and Asians almost 2 percent. Ethnic diversity declined over these years, yet in 1920 at least one-quarter of the population still comprised the combined minority of Indian, Mexican, Asian, or non-Anglo Saxon foreign-born.

Any tendency to romanticize these frugal pioneers should be balanced with candor about their provinciality. A rare progressive and feminist such as Mary Austin learned the ways of Paiute Indian culture, but "[T]he habit Mary had of making friends with the Spanish-speaking population was frowned upon by the conservative inhabitants of Lone Pine... those things were just not done, and they evidently felt that she was lacking in an understanding of the proper social distinctions."¹² Valley newspapers

echoed California nativism by denigrating the achievements of Asians in agriculture as the result of inferior racial standards which enforced slave labor under subhuman living conditions.

The structure of social classes was reasonably diverse. In addition to the prototypical farmers and shopkeepers, the valley included a significant number of professionals, teachers and physicians, for example, and a distinct working class of farm and construction laborers, teamsters, miners, packers, and so forth. The clerical and supervisory middle sectors were well represented in the towns. Table 1 provides a longitudinal comparison of the valley's occupational structure in 1908 and 1922 drawn from the *Great Register of Inyo County*.¹³ Farming, ranching, and related agricultural occupations—for example, beekeeping and "orchardist"—comprise the largest category, about 40 percent of the population in both periods. Similarly, town services (clerks, for example) and labor are important categories whose proportionate sizes remain nearly constant. The relative numbers engaged in the professions, commerce, and mana-

TABLE 1

Occupational Structure of the Owens Valley and Protest Participants in Selected Years (percent)

Occupational Categories ^a	Valley 1908	Petition Signers 1904	Citizens' Committee 1905	Valley 1922	Petition Signers (Irrigation Dist.) 1922	Activists 1922-24 & Participants in Aqueduct Seizure 1924
Professional	4	4	20	7	10	10
Merchant, Managerial	5	5	0	8	14	28
Clerk, Services	11	6	20	12	11	13
Farm, Ranch	41	80	60	39	48	38
Trades, Mining	25	4	0	19	12	4
Labor	14	1	0	15	5	2
Total (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	1250	333	10	1954	299	60
Housewife	—	—	1	1027 ^c	52	10
Retired	—	—	0	38	10	1
Total	1250 ^b	333	11	3019	361	71

Sources:

Index to the *Great Register of Inyo County California*, 1908, 1922; Petition "To the Right Honorable Secretary of the Interior of the United States," 1905; McClure (1925); Petition for formation of Irrigation District, *The Inyo Register*, August 22, 1922; *Los Angeles Daily Times*, November 17-22, 1924; Interviews, Owens Valley, 1980-1984.

Notes:

- (a) Categories include, for example: professional: physician, dentist, teacher, engineer, minister; merchant and managerial: storekeeper, small business person, sales agent; clerks and services: book-keeper, bank clerk, civil service; trades and mining: carpenter, mechanic, electrician, blacksmith, miner; labor: teamster, laborer, packer.

- (b) In 1908 women did not have the vote; their exclusion from this enumeration produces some bias in the occupational structure. The numerical total of male occupations underestimates the economically active by approximately 150 due to missing data.
- (c) The occupational distribution for 1922 is computed without self-described "housewives." No doubt many were responsible for household production and played key roles in the agricultural economy. Some also held professional and clerical positions. With no better guide to the types of work housewives performed, it is reasonable to assume that they are distributed as the occupations are generally.

gerial positions, however, increased significantly in these years from 9 percent to 15 percent in these two categories combined. The number of miners declined, although they and the tradespersons still constitute about one-fifth of the working population. In the aggregate, the occupational structure is stable, with a moderate shift toward professional and commercial activities.

There were a few large land-

owners, bankers, and wealthy merchants. Indeed, some of the leading local families had turned agricultural prosperity into commercial preeminence. Coming to the valley in the 1880s from the Isle of Man, the Watterson family successfully took up sheep ranching. The Leece and Watterson general merchandise store was opened in the 1890s and, as a local publicist noted in 1912, "its position of leadership in the com-

mercial life of eastern California is scarcely disputed."¹⁴ In 1902, Wilfred and Mark Watterson founded the first local bank, which came to play the leading institutional role in the valley's development and in the resistance movement. Several other merchants also maintained farms or ranches, but the great majority were dependent for their livelihood on small businesses.

During the first two decades of

The 1923 community Christmas tree in Big Pine was symbolic of the social cohesion which characterized the growing community.

EASTERN CALIFORNIA MUSEUM



this century, in the reflective words of elderly residents interviewed in the 1980s, a social elite existed in the valley: the families of the two bankers, a prosperous rancher and owner of the popular hot springs resort, a physician couple, a dentist whose party list helped define "the elite," and a half dozen other families of Bishop businesspersons. They were the burghers whose status rested less on wealth than on a combination of professional or commercial position and participation in the Methodist church, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Masonic lodge. Below, and sometimes beside, these members of the social elite were clerks, the providers of small-town services, yeomen, and persons in all manner of trades, together comprising well over half the citizenry. In sharp contrast were the ethnic and working-class communities: Mexicans (half the population of Lone Pine around 1900), Paiutes, hardrock miners, and manual laborers (the two latter categories included ethnic and Anglo-Saxon workers). In 1920 these groups still comprised one-third of the valley's population, judged from the voter rolls—and

doubtless a bit more since fewer were eligible and some chose not to vote. Although there were clear social boundaries between the burghers and workers, however, they mingled with familiarity and economic differences between them were modest.

How did this industriously conservative community arrive at open rebellion in a few years? Why did it revolt in 1924 rather than earlier when to some observers its fate appeared sealed? The answers to these questions reveal the character and aims of the resistance movement.

THE STRUGGLE was determined in a triangular relationship between the looming growth of Los Angeles, the national Progressive movement as it articulated with the political strategy of Theodore Roosevelt's administration, and the reception of those forces by local society in the Owens Valley. The first and, to some extent, the second of these causes have preoccupied most historical interpretation and require only brief mention.

The population of Los Angeles doubled in the last decade of the

nineteenth century and increased from 102,000 to 577,000 between 1900 and 1920. The growth projected by local planners in 1900 would soon outrun the exiguous water supply, and growth was the business of the city's promoters organized in the powerful Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Lacking industry or a major harbor, Los Angeles thrived on land development and, as Carey McWilliams put it, "taking in one another's laundry."¹⁵ As early as 1890, former Los Angeles Mayor Fred Eaton had envisioned a gravity-fed aqueduct dropping 4,000 feet and 240 miles from the Owens to the San Fernando Valley. Eaton's aqueduct plan was realized, in part, through the intrigues of Los Angeles moguls and land developers.¹⁶ Only to that extent, however, does the aqueduct history resemble the conspiratorial version popularized in the motion picture *Chinatown*. The project was no secret foisted on unknowing Angelenos. The land syndicate enlisted a willing DWP to assume public leadership of the undertaking, and open appeals were made to south-land voters in referenda and bond issues.



The automobile age brought new means of communication to Lone Pine—and new opportunities for entrepreneurs. By 1922, when this photograph was taken, both cars and gas imported from outside the valley had become integral parts of its life.

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After the 1902 passage of the Reclamation Act, two projects for the development of the Owens River as a source of southern California water were under consideration. The proposal to be undertaken by the Bureau of Reclamation would have combined the supply of water to Los Angeles with a reservoir in the valley; the other, to be administered by the DWP, would simply move water to the city. The political victory of the second plan shaped everything that followed. Much was made of the duplicity of J. B. Lippincott, who served simultaneously as Chief of Southwest Operations for the Reclamation Service and as a private consultant to the city. Effectively, however, the decision favoring the city was made in Washington by President Theodore Roosevelt with the counsel of the senior senator from California and the head of the U.S. Forest Service. Progressives all, they reasoned that the greater good was served by a project benefitting the millions in southern California rather than the tiny population of the valley. Moreover, the Reclamation Service plan to generate electric power in the valley involved private utilities—the bugbear of Progressives—and federal authorities considered this a further justification for an all-or-none choice that ignored the possibility of protecting local interests within a project designed to serve Los Angeles. In brief, exploitation of the Owens Valley water supply was given over to the city, and the DWP never felt the need to compromise its own advantage for the sake of mutual development—save, perhaps, in the fleeting days of the rebellion.

Prior to the announcement of the city's project (published without authorization in the *Los Angeles Times* on July 20, 1905) and Roosevelt's fateful decision on June 25, 1906, citizens of the Owens Valley had already penetrated the city's scheme by watching Lippincott's moves. The resistance began mobilizing in 1904 with a petition drive in support of the Reclamation Service project. Concern mounted over the continuing appearance of city agents conducting surveys and placing options on land and water rights in the valley. In the late summer of 1905, after the Los Angeles announcement, an emergency was afoot.

A meeting in Bishop on August 1, was "attended by a large and enthusiastic assemblage" which determined to appoint a Citizen's Committee to plead their case in Washington.¹⁷ On August 4, Stafford W. Austin, Mary's husband and the Register of the U.S. Land Office in the valley, wrote to President Roosevelt "to protest against the proposed abandonment of the Owens River project by the Reclamation Service... [and to expose] the whole outrageous scheme... to betray the Government by turning this important project over to the City of Los Angeles."¹⁸ Inyo County District Attorney William Dehy suggested in a letter to President Roosevelt that the aims of the valley were close to "the policy of the administration to do its utmost toward enabling the plain everyday American citizen to provide a home for himself and his family... for the peopling of the valleys and the conversions of the deserts into well watered valleys rather than for the overcrowding of the large cities."¹⁹ Mary Austin published an elegant essay in the *San Francisco Chronicle* defining the question as "how far it is well to destroy the agricultural interests of the commonwealth to the advantage of the vast aggregations of cities."²⁰ But the

After the 1902 passage of the Reclamation Act, two projects for the development of the Owens River as a source of southern California water were under consideration. The proposal to be undertaken by the Bureau of Reclamation would have combined the supply of water to Los Angeles with a reservoir in the valley; the other, to be administered by the DWP, would simply move water to the city. The political victory of the second plan shaped everything that followed. Much was made of the duplicity of J. B. Lippincott, who served simultaneously as Chief of Southwest Operations for the Reclamation Service and as a private consultant to the city. Effectively, however, the decision favoring the city was made in Washington by President Theodore Roosevelt with the counsel of the senior senator from California and the head of the U.S. Forest Service. Progressives all, they reasoned that the greater good was served by a project benefitting the millions in southern California rather than the tiny population of the valley. Moreover, the Reclamation Service plan to generate electric power in the valley involved private utilities—the bugbear of Progressives—and federal authorities considered this a further justification for an all-or-none choice that ignored the possibility of protecting local interests within a project designed to serve Los Angeles. In brief, exploitation of the Owens Valley water supply was given over to the city, and the DWP never felt the need to compromise its own advantage for the sake of mutual development—save, perhaps, in the fleeting days of the rebellion.

As the most popular local resort in the Bishop area, Keough's Hot Springs was the site of community picnics and meetings. Its owner was a prominent rancher-merchant who was active in the resistance to the aqueduct and some of the public meetings to rally support for the resistance movement were held here.

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people spoke more vividly to the president through a farm woman from Poleta.

There never has been any capitolist or rich people come here until lately and all the farms of the Owens Valley show the hard labor and toil of people who came here with out much more than their clothes . . . [S]ome rich men got the government or "Uncle Sam" to hire a man named J. B. Lippancott to represent to the people that he was going to put in a large dam in what is known as Long Valley . . . But—Lo! and Behold! Imagine the shock the people felt when they learned when Uncle Sam was paying Mr. Lippancott he was a traitor to the people and was working for a millionaire company . . . Now as the President of the U.S. do you think that is right? . . . Is there no way to keep the capitolist from forcing people to give up their water right and letting the now beautiful alfalfa fields dry up and return to a barren desert waist? Is there no way to stop this thievery? As you have proven to be the president for the people and not the rich I, an old resident, who was raised here, appeal to you for help and Advice. My husband and I with in the last year have bought us a home and are paying for it in hard labor and economy. So I can tell you it will be hard to have those rich men say

"stay there and starve" or "Go." Where if we keep the water in the valley it won't be only 3 years until the place will pay for its self. So Help The People of Owens Valley! Yours Unto Eternity, Lesta V. Parker.²¹

These early protests went virtually unnoticed outside the valley. The November 1904 petition "To the Right Honorable Secretary of the Interior of the United States" signed by 380 citizens controlling 104,242 acres (some signers owned additional town lots which brought the average landholding to 301 acres) and urging continuation of the Reclamation Service project²² drew no response. Although Lesta Parker was "advised" by an acting Secretary of the Interior "that the matter will be carefully considered by this Department" the decision which issued from the president's inner council proved that the citizens "lost without ever having had the opportunity to have their representative present."²³

The 1904–1905 protest movement was largely agrarian. The issues revolved around security of land and water rights, the alternative advantages of an agriculturally oriented Reclamation Service project,

and the western populist ideology inspired by the Roosevelt administration. Convincing evidence for this claim comes from analysis of the occupations and economic circumstances of the 1904 petition signers. These were uncovered by matching names on the petition to the *Great Register* of voters and the *Inyo County Assessment Roll*. Among 380 petition signers, 333 reported their occupations, and of this number fully 80 percent designated themselves as "farmer," "rancher," "stockman," and so forth. The remainder included small numbers of town professionals, merchants, clerks, and tradespersons. The small Citizens' Committee that led the resistance at this time had a similar social profile. That the protestors did not represent the whole population of the valley is indicated by comparison with the occupational data in Table 1. Among the 1904 petitioners, for example, agriculturalists comprise twice their relative proportion of the working population, while the trades and labor are only about one-eighth their number. With respect to social standing, none of the local elite was among the Citizens' Committee leadership. The narrow so-

cial base of the early protest movement may have contributed to its failure to draw a response from Washington. At this stage influential town business persons did not energetically support what was still a farmers' movement.

The valley protestors did not resign themselves to defeat when the aqueduct construction began in 1908, nor at the opening in 1913. By contrast to 1904–1905, however, a period of quiescence set in during which hope was widespread in the valley that mutual benefit might come with the aqueduct. Negotiations proceeded between the city of Los Angeles and successive local representative bodies, including the Owens Valley Water Protective Association—each of them representing agrarian interests and comprised predominantly of farmers and ranchers. The issue was always the extent to which the valley might share in the city's wealth: would the city build a storage reservoir from which valley irrigation water could be drawn in amounts consistent with continuing local growth?; would the city guarantee continued irrigation of the present 60,000 acres or some lesser, but assured, amount such as 30,000?; would the city deal with popularly chosen associations, rather than individual property owners?

Intricate maneuvers surrounded each point, but it suffices that valley representatives won no tangible concessions in the years leading up to 1920. Indeed, not everyone in the valley supported these negotiations. Town businesses considered themselves unaffected and an incipient faction of property owners believed their interest lay with the city, although they had no occasion to

choose sides. While the city joined in desultory negotiations, it reaped benefits from the new water supply that only a philanthropist would bargain away. In the southland, speculative land development thrived, and irrigated acreage in the San Fernando Valley increased from 10,000 acres in 1915 to 75,000 in 1918.²⁴

DECISIVE troubles and a second stage of resistance movement began in the summer of 1919. The worst drought in decades had begun. Los Angeles sank new artesian wells to feed the aqueduct (dropping everyone's water table) and husbanded its storage reserves. In a seldom noted precursor to the Alabama Gates, on June 11, "Citizens [Took] Action to Save Their Crops. . . . A delegation of probably fifty men went to Hillside Reservoir . . . and raised the gate enough to permit the flow of 2500 inches of additional water into Bishop Creek."²⁵ Editorial opinion discovered a new purpose in the unrest: "The interests of every person, *business or profession* are those of the farmers. The sympathy of the community is solidly with the farmers," asserted the *Inyo Register*.²⁶ The connection between water shortage, city control, a decline in local production, and the commercial prosperity of the towns forcibly entered the public consciousness. This was a turning point.

With the worsening drought and controversy over ground water, both sides steeled themselves for a struggle. The city, now appreciating its vulnerability to local risings and inevitable dry years, began wholesale purchases of land, water rights, and ditch companies. Buyouts soared

from a half dozen per year to 104 in 1923 and about 250 in 1924. Residents alleged a "checkerboarding" pattern to the purchases which left working farms and canal sections cut off by city-owned abandoned plots that quickly returned to desert sage.

As city and valley interests became polarized, a fissure opened in local society. On the surface it appeared to divide stalwarts and sellers; those who chose a fight to "save the valley" and those who welcomed the opportunity to sell out at the generally attractive prices the city was willing to pay for secure water rights. As the struggle intensified, the large majority in the first group referred to the second as "traitors."

The split was more complicated. It involved, first, a division mainly among land-owning agriculturalists. One list for the Bishop vicinity of ninety-four persons or families who sold to the city between early 1923 and mid-December, 1924, shows that they were overwhelmingly farmers with average sized holdings.²⁷ Second, family and social antipathies helped precipitate the split, or at least to divide the leaders of the seller faction from the majority community. George Watterson, uncle to the banker brothers, participated in the pro-city faction largely, it seems, because of conflicts over family business interests which his elder nephew Wilfred dominated. George married the sister of a large landowner named William Symons and together they pledged their lands to uses favoring the city. Their attorney was L. C. Hall, reportedly the spurned suitor of one of the Watterson sisters. These men and their families, moreover, were outsiders to the social elite which was prob-

ably a source of resentment all round. Third, some unfairly labeled "traitors" had pressed for alternative solutions with the city, particularly a storage reservoir with guaranteed drawing rights for local farmers; they sold out only when that hope collapsed. Finally, some of the dissenters stood purely for the independent right to use or dispose of their property as they saw fit. Some of the majority tried to intimidate potential sellers by issuing vague threats and conducting late-night meetings with hooded men (hence the erroneous impression that the Ku Klux Klan operated in the valley),²⁸ and this latter group may have felt strongly about resisting such tactics. In sum, the seller faction was small (fewer than the ninety-four seller families listed in December 1924 since many of them had sold involuntarily), and its speculative interests should not be underestimated; some profited remarkably by selling. But neither did pecuniary motives fully explain the social division.

DESPITE the adverse conditions, the valley's best hour of mobilization came with the creation of an irrigation district based on an innovative application of state law. The idea was to unite all property owners and canal companies in a single association which would bargain exclusively with the DWP, the city, or any mediator. The Farm Bureau's annual picnic of 1922 at Keough's Hot Springs featured speeches on "the movement in this county" and Wilfred Watterson's plea for the irrigation district as "protection against encroachment by Los Angeles."²⁹ Experts were brought from the San Joaquin Valley

to discuss details with "a large and representative audience" at the high school auditorium.³⁰ The novelty—and the organizational genius—behind the plan was the proposal that the district would include the owners of *town* lots and their water rights along with the farmers and ranchers.

In the spring of 1922 a petition began circulating that would mandate a referendum on creating the irrigation district. After an inadvertent misfiling in late May, the petition with 430 signatures was delivered to the county clerk on August 17 and published in the *Inyo Register* the same day. Since the proposed irrigation district would provide a legal and organizational vehicle for confronting the city, the petition itself provides one of the best, and certainly the largest, sample of supporters of the resistance. It also allows comparison with the 1904 petition and the social bases of the resistance in its two stages. Table 1 demonstrates some striking facts.³¹ Farmers and ranchers are still the largest category of supporters, but they are represented in a proportion much closer to their numbers in the population (48 percent of the signers and 39 percent of the labor force). Professionals, merchants, and managers are even more heavily represented in the same sense, just as the trades, mining, and labor are underrepresented. The social composition of the resistance has shifted, and shifted in ways that are not explained by changes in the economy alone. For example, from 1904 to 1922 the percentage of persons in the combined categories of professional and merchant-managerial valleywide almost doubled (9 percent to 15 percent), but the number

supporting the resistance nearly tripled (9 percent to 24 percent). Agriculturalists came closer to their proportionate share and the working class, although still more numerous in the population than in the resistance movement, had substantially increased its participation in the latter. In a word, the farmers' movement of 1904 had become a coalition of all social classes in 1922.

Heeding the *Inyo Register's* appeal that "The irrigation district, and apparently no other power, can put an end to this period of destructiveness which the city will inaugurate unless checked,"³² citizens voted in January 1923 for the district itself and in August to authorize it to issue bonds; the respective votes were 599 to 27 and 702 to 80. The dissenting vote probably came from the pro-Los Angeles faction and provides the best estimate of how small the minority was.

By August 1923 town and farm interests were united as never before behind a strategy which demanded that the city either guarantee agricultural production and commercial life or accept mediated negotiations on business indemnities and purchase of all offered land and water rights in a collective agreement. Although the latter provision is sometimes interpreted as an intention to speculate in one large land sale,³³ other evidence supports the idea that the resistance movement was using unity—its strongest card—to force a settlement that would preserve private ownership and the community. When they could look beyond daily strife, spokespersons invariably repeated the hope that they might prosper along with the city.

As the resolve of both sides stiff-



Bishop's main street about 1921. While the telephone and telegraph offices (left and center left) offer communication with distant places, other businesses affirm the attractions of home. The Inyo Store Company promises "Value, Courtesy, Service for Women." A billboard for the Bishop Theatre boasts, "Yes We Show All This. Never Less Than Seven Reels." The large pear with its "Owens Valley the Home of the Pear" testifies to a persisting hope that water would be returned to the valley.

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ened, the shoots of desperation appeared. Continuing city purchases fostered fear among stalwarts and intimidation of sellers; neighbors were bitterly divided, and some were uncertain whether to accept or cultivate an attractive offer. Litigation over water rights and pumping increased as the resistance sought a needed ally in the courts. Perennial negotiations were stalled with citizens emboldened by their demonstrated organizational unity and the city unwilling to announce a definitive policy. The economy and town life were suspended on a wire of doubt: investment was withheld, lending stopped, real estate trading stagnated save for the city's bidding, farm production dropped precipitously, schools began to close,³⁴ and doleful encounters on the street dwelled only on "which way is it going?" Then the bombs started exploding.

The dynamite blast that tore a hole in the aqueduct at the Alabama Gates on May 21, 1924 signaled open revolt. The valley's best organizational strategies had won no ameliorating results. On the contrary, the indecisive standoff made conditions worse. By June it is likely that

the plan to seize the Alabama Gates was being hatched. The city had introduced dynamite and strongarm methods to break irrigation ditches and recover aqueduct water. According to statements sworn before a subsequent investigation, "In the summer of 1923 representatives of the city of Los Angeles dynamited the dam at Convict Lake . . . in order to get more water for their impoverished aqueduct . . . Other deeds of similar kind were resorted to by the city's agents, so it was the city of Los Angeles, and not the people here, who first used dynamite in this water controversy."³⁵ Beside this claim, it was also widely known in the resistance movement that one Major Watson, a colleague from Big Pine with military experience, was the uncelebrated hero of the May 21 sabotage. By fall, no new negotiating moves were seen or imagined. Something was up, as revealed in retrospective interview reports that late-night meetings at the Wattersons' were frequent that summer. When the rebels occupied the Alabama Gates, it was clear that they were the redoubtable citizens who had carried the resistance movement through so many years of legal and

political struggle—neither outlaws nor yokels.

ANALYSIS of social participation in the aqueduct occupation of November 1924 presents a special problem because there were no arrests and there is no other documentation. Although the sheriff issued summonses to the trespassers, no record of recipients survives, and the sympathetic county law enforcement agencies never attempted to punish the rebels. Accordingly, two methods were used to develop a list of participants. First, from local newspaper files and archival documents, a list of "activists" was constructed comprising people and members of sundry ad hoc committees who either sponsored mobilizing events or signed letters of protest to the city and federal government. Second, those who actually took over the aqueduct were identified in two ways. Los Angeles newspapers sent reporters to the Alabama Gates who filed stories identifying people whom they interviewed. Subsequent published narratives name some of the same people, although the number is small in both cases. The event was also photographed by

Sheepherding was a major economic activity for the early Owens Valley settlers, but by 1910 irrigated fields had taken over much of the grazing land. The prohibition of sheep in the high meadows of Yosemite National Park also hurt the industry, but sheep would reappear in smaller numbers as the aqueduct diverted water from Owens Valley fields.

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the Los Angeles newspapers and local enthusiasts who caught representative crowd scenes. Enlarged copies of some of these photographs enabled elderly persons interviewed in the early 1980s to identify parents, relatives, and community figures. In this fashion it was possible to recover the names, occupations, and economic circumstances of seventy-one persons active in the events of 1924. By virtue of their identification by eye witnesses or their public record of active involvement, it is reasonable to assume that these people were among the seventy men who first seized the Alabama Gates, and certainly among the several hundred who gathered in support during the first day.

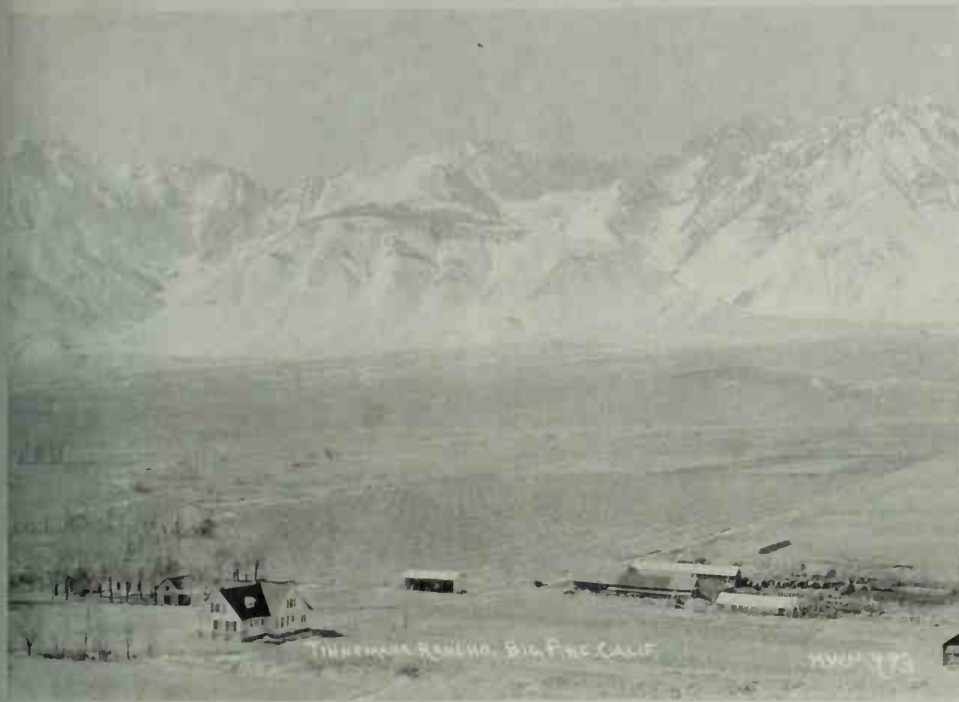
The results of this analysis complement the larger sample of irrigation district supporters from two years earlier (Table 1). Now agriculturalists are present in numbers (38 percent) virtually identical to their representation in the valleywide occupational structure. The trades and labor are rare. The difference is made up by the heavy participation of town professionals and merchants (a combined 43 percent) and clerical and service personnel. By the man-

ner of their identification, we may assume that these people were the active leaders of the resistance. That is, they left a record of spearheading committees and letter-writing campaigns (activists) and were sought out by reporters at the aqueduct or remembered in photographs sixty years later (participants). Accordingly, this last sample is best compared with the small 1905 Citizens' Committee. When that is done, the results parallel the interpretation derived from the comparison of 1904 and 1922 petition signers: what began as a farmers' movement broadened into a coalition of town and agricultural interests in which merchants and professionals played key leadership roles. In short, the 1924 rebels formed a class alliance based on a new understanding that continued exploitation of the valley would ruin both agricultural production and town commerce.

The vast majority (85–90 percent) of irrigation district supporters and of activists and participants in the 1924 insurgency came from Bishop and its immediate environs. These districts were agriculturally and commercially more prosperous than the rest of the valley. A socio-

economic profile of the activists and participants shows that their landholdings were above valleywide averages in acreage and assessed valuation. For example, they owned property assessed at an average of \$9,053 by contrast to the valley mean of \$5,280 and Bishop's \$5,868. Among those who owned land, the mean holding was 228 acres compared to the averages of 119 acres valleywide and 102 acres in the Bishop area. The larger sample of irrigation district supporters resembles very closely the averages for the Bishop area. These data, particularly in combination with the material on occupations, firmly support the proposition that the resistance movement represented the more prosperous farm and town groups in the irrigated areas of the valley, united and led by a bucolic bourgeoisie.

Three essential characteristics of the protest movement summarize this analysis. *First*, the resistance began in 1904 primarily as an agrarian movement. Four-fifths of the petition signers were agriculturalists by occupation, twice the valleywide proportion. *Second*, around 1919 the movement began to broaden its base dramatically to include profession-



Ranch and farm land in the Owens Valley, ca. 1915.

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als, merchants, and those in service occupations. In 1924 agricultural occupations represented less than half the insurgents, while middle class townspeople contributed an equal or greater number, particularly to the leadership. Only a small part of the shift is attributable to structural change, such as the labor force composition, in this short period. (Small differences favoring town occupations in 1922, moreover, are partly due to the inclusion of newly enfranchised women voters, some of whom were employed in town professions and services.) *Third*, by 1924 the movement had consolidated a distinctive alliance of middle-class townfolk and medium-sized agriculturalists.

The question returns: why were these classes rebelling? Undeniably, they were trying to protect their property or, later, salvage some of its value. The social bases of participants and nonparticipants suggest they acted on class interest. The rebels were medium-sized agriculturalists and the employees and owners of town businesses whose livelihoods were being destroyed by the city invasion. The same forces did not directly threaten the work-

ing class miners and laborers (some of whom found jobs with city agencies). Valley agriculture had never employed a large and steady labor force that might have made common cause with the typical owner-operator. The allied class base of the movement is reliably defined and clearly motivated by material interest.

Yet interpretation only in terms of class captures but a segment of the action and meaning. The struggle, in the first place, was a regional one between rural and urban interests. In that sense it was an intra-class struggle between urban developers, businesspersons, and their public servants in Los Angeles and small town agribusiness and services in the valley—the Bishop Chamber of Commerce badly mismatched with the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. From the standpoint of Owens Valley citizens, moreover, it was a fight to preserve their community and way of life.

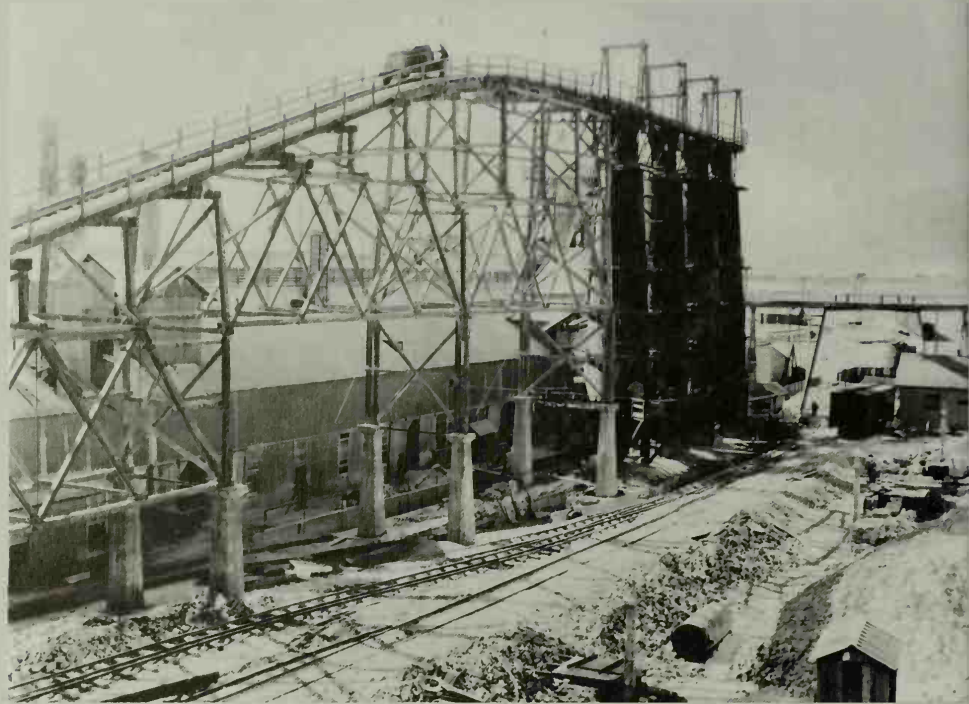
Second, it was a struggle prompted by a reorganization of the state. The Roosevelt administration began the century with new aims “to elevate the executive as the dominant force in national government and to

make the government the most important single influence in national affairs.”³⁶ Roosevelt sought to incorporate a western constituency through the Reclamation Act and to attract urban reformers, especially in the eastern machine-cities, with such appeals as the development of public utilities. In 1906 he cited progressive tenets when he decided in favor of the DWP exploitation of Owens Valley water rather than the Reclamation Service project. Yet, as “an avid aggrandizer, the president understood and encouraged those aggrandizing executive officials who sought to construct small empires out of the growing demand for public management.”³⁷

Both sides of the Owens Valley battle built their aims and strategies on the presumption of state involvement. The Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association rallied to Progressivism and the brand of “good government” that ensured economic growth through the powerful DWP. Yet the protestors also called on progressive ideology to legitimate their struggle against a new species of monopoly and to support their ambitions to enhance properties and businesses on the rising tide

Mining and mineral extraction were important components of a diversified Owens Valley economy. This soda works flourished when demand was high and shut down when the market sagged.

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of Los Angeles prosperity. They wanted economic growth, ideally within the city's ambit and regional market. A 1912 publication by the *Inyo Register* noted, "Bishop's people are alive to the importance of progressive things . . . This is a modern up-to-date community, with improvement as its object, and steady growth as a consequent certainty."³⁸ When they were denied a modest share by the uncompromising city-builders, the middle-class rebels used the state apparatus, the irrigation district and courts, in their defense. Ironically, their last act of protest was a dramatic appeal to put the case before the governor and a broader court of public opinion. To the extent that they ever had a chance to coexist with the city, their Progressive faith was their downfall.

FOLLOWING the rebellion more negotiation sputtered and there was talk of reparations, but the city soon showed its intention to buy out the entire valley. DWP land purchases jumped again from approximately 240 in 1925 to 450 during the following year. Aqueduct bombings rose even faster as a sign of desperation and anger. In 1927 the local

bank which had led and financed the resistance movement failed. The Watterson brothers misused depositor funds in an effort to keep the resistance alive. Their conviction on charges of embezzlement was an effect rather than a cause of the movement's collapse in the face of city determination to make no exception for individuals or the irrigation district in the fight for control of the valley. The resistance was simply worn down. Between 1920 and 1930, Bishop's population dropped from 1,304 to 850, the number of farms fell from 521 to 218, and the annual value of agricultural production slumped from over four million dollars to less than one. The valley of redolent alfalfa and community picnics died, although a few towns lived on as a redoubt for Los Angeles vacationers and an outpost of public agencies that manage the metropolitan hinterland.

Understood from below, the historical fight between Los Angeles and the Owens Valley evolved from a tradition of agrarian democracy to a militant town-farm class alliance animated by local culture. Citizens, far from "unaccustomed to the ways of the outside world," imaginatively

developed their struggle for community survival in tandem with the changing incursions of the metropolitan economy and the means of protest available in the state. Overmatched and without the state support bestowed on Los Angeles, the valley rebels were finally defeated. Yet they did not go down gently. Their struggle was bolder and more resourceful than others in rural societies confronted by a centralizing urban world. □

This article is based on a study supported by a Faculty Research Grant from the University of California, Davis. For providing access to public records and granting me other assistance, I am grateful to Charles N. Irwin (former director of the Eastern California Museum), Bill Michael (director of the Eastern California Museum), Jane Fisher (Chalfout Press), Richard Crawford (Librarian, National Archives), Ann Crilley (Inyo County Free Library), Alice Boothe (Laws Museum), Mary Gorman, Enid Larson, Elua Crosby, and Gus Caslbaugh. I received helpful comments on an earlier version of this article from William Friedland, Gary Hamilton, William Kalrl, Norbert Wiley, and the editors of this journal. Mainly, I am indebted to a great many residents of the Owens Valley who generously provided me with their time, memories, cooperation, and concern in this effort to recover part of their history.

See notes beginning on page 226.

JAMES DE TARR ABAJIAN

James de Tarr Abajian was born James de Tarr in Sacramento in 1914. He and his mother returned to her home in the Midwest shortly after, and he grew up in Wisconsin. When his mother remarried, he took the last name of his stepfather.

As an only child living mainly among adults and becoming acquainted with long established families which employed his mother as a nurse, Abajian developed a sense of history early. Then, while studying for his B.A. and teaching credential at the University of Wisconsin, he was employed at the Wisconsin State Historical Society. This proved a pivotal experience.

From other family members, his mother especially, he gained, in addition to a sense of history, a liberal point of view, a broad concern for social causes. This was to come together with his interest in history to bring about his pioneering bibliographical work on blacks in America.

Before becoming librarian of the California Historical Society, Abajian had gone to the library school at the University of Michigan but, since he was then and always a self-determining man, decided not to take the final courses toward a library degree because he considered them worthless. It was wartime and he instead enlisted in the Army. Thus in the early 1940s he found himself again in Sacramento, stationed with the Signal Corps.

This time he remained in California. He came to San Francisco in 1945 and, while holding various jobs, started lunch-time work on what was to become a vast file of references on California history.

In 1950 he was named librarian of the California Historical Society. As librarian he was dedicated to enlarging and improving its collection, which he did through discriminating purchases but, more important, through attracting gifts of books, manuscripts, and bequests from members of old California families whom he came to know.

In the Historical Society library, Abajian was helpful beyond the call of duty to serious historians but tended to give short shrift to those whose interest he considered superficial or opportunistic. In 1968 the Society's board, at the behest of a small group of its members, voted to end his eighteen-year tenure. Shortly after, George Harding, who had established the Kemble Collections on Western Printing, asked him to serve as curator, which he did to their benefit until 1977. Following that he became archivist for the San Francisco Archdiocese of the Catholic Church, bringing to the task of organizing its long neglected collection essential knowledge of its significance.

After his retirement in 1983 he continued adding to his reference files as well as to his published reference works on black American history, completing the two-volume continuation of his 1977 work, *Blacks in Selected Newspapers, Censuses and Other Sources*. This and his 1974 *Blacks and Their Contributions to the American West* stand as monuments of bibliographical scholarship. He also tape-recorded his reminiscences for The Bancroft Library.

James Abajian died on March 6, 1986, following heart surgery. His will directed his executors to transfer to The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, his approximately 400,000 reference cards. Historians from across the country had long benefited by access to these cards. Now they will be widely available, as he intended.

Ruth Teiser



A LITTLE GEM OF

T · H · E LUX SCHOOL



EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

by Beth Jersey Crowder

It was a unique school, a special world, a "little gem of education" to its students. Endowed by a forward-thinking woman, the Lux School filled the gap between classical and technical education at a time when many women were joining the work force. A first of its kind, it was a forerunner of today's junior colleges—a place for tradition and experimentation, hard work, and great fun. And it lasted a mere fifty years.

The Lux School, incorporated in San Francisco in 1911, was endowed by Miranda Wilmarth Lux, the widow of rancher and land baron Charles Lux. Mrs. Lux was vitally interested in vocational education, which was newly recognized by educators across the land as a means to provide

(Above) Charles and Miranda Wilmarth Lux.

(Left) Medical and dental office assisting were the most popular of Lux College's program offerings. Vivian Terki, Virginia Anderson, and Virginia Ricker demonstrate dental assisting techniques. Photo by Gabriel Moulin Studios, 1944.

trained laborers for industry and agriculture.¹ Her school was to emphasize interdisciplinary technical training for high school girls in the "fundamentals of homemaking" in order to prepare them for "distinctly feminine wage-earning occupations."²

The Lux School drew its first class from San Francisco's California School of Mechanical Arts, incorporated in 1885, but opened in 1895 with an endowment from James Lick and, according to one source, "without a doubt the first public trade school, open to girls, in the United States."³ The California School of Mechanical Arts was also one of the first technical schools in California. It was joined in 1900 by the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts for Boys, founded by the prosperous San Francisco merchant Jillis Clute Wilmerding "to teach boys trades, fitting them to make their living with their hands, with little study and plenty of work."⁴ A recent study by the California State Department of

Education described the three endowed schools, Lux, Lick's, and Wilmerding's, as "models for similar [vocational education] development in later years in all parts of the states."⁵

The Lux School of Industrial Training opened in 1912 in an old San Francisco school building. It shared a director as well as some faculty and facilities with Lick's and Wilmerding's schools. The new school admitted girls from all economic backgrounds who had done well in grammar school and passed muster in a personal interview. There was no tuition.

The Lux School's motto was "to do the common things uncommonly well," and its principal purpose was to give girls "an education based upon a thoroughly practical training in all the essential things of a well-ordered home, and covering the usual four-year high school course."⁶ The curriculum was interdisciplinary, offering the benefits of both classical and technical education by

relating "academic instruction to actual work of sewing, cooking, laundering, housekeeping, etc."⁷ According to a school circular:

*Instead of requiring an exhaustive study of general physics, trusting that this knowledge will be applied later on, we prefer to begin with the various uses of electricity, heat, light, etc., in the home, and through the girl's interest in such things teach her as many principles of physics as we can for the time being. . . . In other words, the pupil's knowledge, instead of being a lot of disconnected threads, is woven into a finished fabric.*⁸

During the first years of the school, courses were offered by five teachers in sewing, millinery, cooking and nutrition, marketing, housekeeping (including table setting and bedmaking), laundering, sanitation, health and hygiene, heating, lighting, ventilation and home nursing, along with mathematics, science, drawing, and literature.⁹ In addition, there was "a more advanced course for training teachers of domestic branches," and college-preparatory courses were available through the California School of Mechanical Arts.¹⁰

Lux students took classes from 8:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., working in the cafeteria and kitchen, and in the laboratories and classrooms. They learned to make beds, wash clothes, cook, care for ill children, and shop, along with their regular high-school courses. According to Doris Pratt and Martha Wickersham, of the classes of 1914 and 1915, respectively, the staff and faculty were very strict, allowing no makeup (in-

cluding lipstick). The students respected them and called their director, George Merrill, a man "ahead of his time." The students also appreciated the homemaking emphasis of the courses they took and felt that it gave them "a good foundation for taking care of their families." Even students from wealthy families, who rarely would have to use any of the homemaking skills they learned, benefited by being able to know whether "the maid was doing the right things."¹¹

In 1914, the Lux School moved into a new home at 17th and Potrero streets in San Francisco. The building was dedicated on May 22; the dedication pamphlet contained photographs taken by Gabriel Moulin. During the first year in the new building, the enrollment of the school was 161 students.¹² On commencement day in 1915, nine girls became the first graduates of the Lux School.¹³

Throughout its history, the school was both subject and sensitive to social demands and educational needs and was quick to make changes it deemed necessary. During World War I and the Depression the enrollment dropped by one quarter.¹⁴ For the war effort students "knitted sweaters, socks and scarfs for servicemen, sewed pajamas, washed rags, made baby kits for French children, made contributions for the support of a French orphan and gave up school functions."¹⁵ In 1919, the Board of Trustees voted to request that the director, "ascertain whether the moral surroundings of Bessie Jeung and Mae Wong be satisfactory," and if so, to admit them to the school. However, in keeping with social expectations, the trustees

also directed, "that the number of Orientals to be admitted to the School shall not exceed at any one time five in number."¹⁶

In 1920 Lux School began to move toward development into a junior college. The teacher training course was dropped, and director Merrill recommended that the emphasis of the school be "shifted from the homemaking viewpoint to the problem of educating young women of junior college age for an economic independence outside of the home." Yet, in keeping with the bias of the school, he stated:

*Instead of training them for occupations in which they would compete with men, it seem[s] better to exploit new fields and develop new avenues of employment, in which our graduates might capitalize the natural interests of women in things growing out of and closely related to the activities of the home.*¹⁷

In 1926 the school began a "co-operative plan of instruction," under which pupils taking vocational courses would receive a part of their instruction in "commercial establishments."¹⁸ This was a new concept, in use at only one other school in the nation at that time.¹⁹

In 1930 the school dropped its ninth grade²⁰ and changed its name to the Lux School: An Institute of Technology for Girls and Young Women. Two years of junior college were added, and instruction was divided into "preliminary subjects" and "technical courses." The technical courses were divided into six groups and the students were expected to specialize in one: sewing or textiles, food studies, health, art, merchandising, or polytechnic.²¹

Over the next three years, associate of arts programs were added in playground directing, medical- and

Beth Jersey Crowder is a freelance writer living in Berkeley, California.



Students at a meal in Lux School dining room, viewed from the hallway. The high ceiling, tall windows, and wood paneling are typical of the graciousness of the living areas provided for the school's students. Photo by Gabriel Moulin Studios, 1914.

Chemistry laboratory. Chemistry and general science were part of the initial curriculum of the Lux School. Such courses were to become increasingly important when the school added programs in medical and dental office assisting, occupational therapy, and pre-nursing. Photo by Gabriel Moulin Studios, 1914.



dental-office assisting, occupational therapy, and pre-nursing. The medical and dental assisting programs were given in cooperation with Children's Hospital; the playground-directing program cooperated with the Golden Gate Kindergarten.²²

Although women throughout the United States were moving into new fields,²³ the emphasis of the Lux School continued to be on preparation of young women for "economic independence in fields of endeavor suitable and desirable for women."²⁴ Speaking at the height of the Depression, the dean stated that positions that "are naturally adapted to them give women a chance to excel without usurping men's positions. In ferreting out positions of this type, we feel that Lux is contributing in no small way to a solution of future employment situations."²⁵ Former students Doris Pratt and Martha Wickersham indicated that some students resented this continued emphasis on "women's jobs," and thought that they "got frozen out" of male-dominated fields.²⁶

Robert Cooke, who wrote a dissertation on "Trade and Industrial Education for Girls and Women in California" in 1932, voiced a growing body of opinion, "Nothing is more evident in the survey here made than that the 'technical junior college' gives the utmost promise of being the way . . . of bettering the preparation of the working women." He praised the Lux School "for that pioneering development of the newer fields which is perhaps only possible to an endowed school."²⁷ Director Merrill apparently concurred:

At the present time only a few junior colleges are making more than the most meager provision for the large number of young women who want to continue

*their schooling beyond the high school, but do not want to take up stenography or to seek university degrees. For the solution to this problem the Lux endowment has planned several groups of technical junior college courses, in which the subjects taught and the methods of instruction are adapted to the natural interests of women in general, and to their individual needs, tastes and attitudes.*²⁸

In 1940 the Lux School dropped its tenth grade; the next year it discontinued its eleventh grade; and in 1942 the school dropped its last high school grade to become Lux College. "The purpose of Lux College," stated its *Bulletin*, "is to prepare young women for economic independence by giving them such technical instruction and training as will fit them for employment in positions open to women." It continued: "The College has, from its beginning, trained students for the present and the future. In the midst of unpredictable changes in world conditions, Lux College holds the more steadfastly to its aim of training women for citizenship and economic independence, thus helping them adjust to changing ways of life."²⁹

The new college offered degrees in polytechnic, medical- and dental-office assisting, pre-nursing, retail training, arts and crafts, clothing and millinery, and interior decoration.³⁰ The medical- and dental-assisting programs were the most popular; between six and twenty-eight students graduated from these programs at each commencement.³¹

The college continued to accept students who had done well scholastically and to charge no tuition. The classes were small: generally limited to fifteen or twenty students. At the same time, although it did not accredit Lux College courses, the

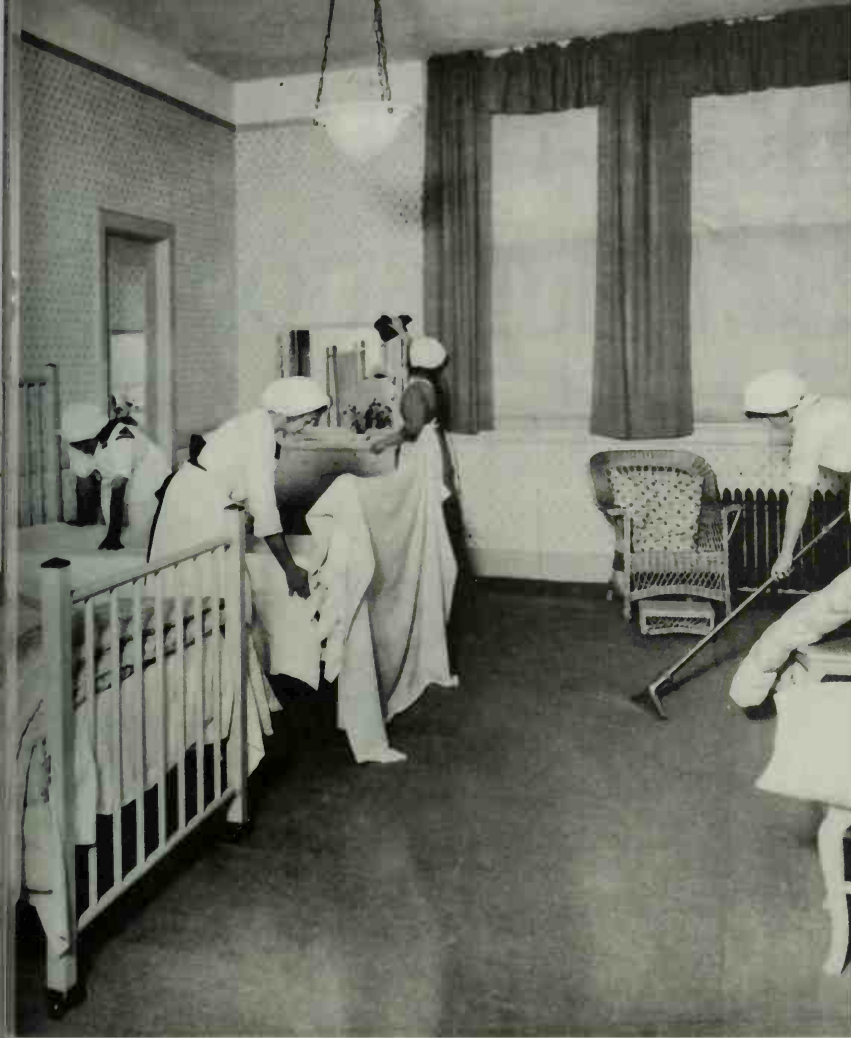
University of California recognized them as being "of high quality."³²

Throughout the history of the school, its administrators had consulted other institutions across the country, searching for different approaches to the technical education of girls and women. In 1947 the Board of Trustees asked an outside group to survey the educational community and "determine the place of Lux College in the community and the possibility of making Lux College self-supporting."³³ By 1953 survey results indicated that the college programs were not attractive enough to enable the institution to become self-supporting. The trustees concluded that the college, "having successfull[y] pioneered in various vocational fields at a time when such training was otherwise unavailable, had fulfilled the purposes and objectives for which it and its predecessor were founded and conducted . . ." The trustees voted to cease the operations of the college on June 30, 1953.³⁴

The decision to close the college came as a shock to many of the students as well as to the alumni. They had come to appreciate the intimacy and variety available at Lux College, an institution Doris Pratt and Martha Wickersham considered "unique and unusual," and way ahead of its time in its attitude toward the education of women. They felt that "women lost out" when their "little gem of education" was no more.³⁵

In 1955 the remaining funds from Lux College were used to endow the Miranda Lux Foundation, which continues to support "preschool through junior college programs in the fields of pre-vocational and vocational education and training in San Francisco."³⁶ □

See notes beginning on page 226.

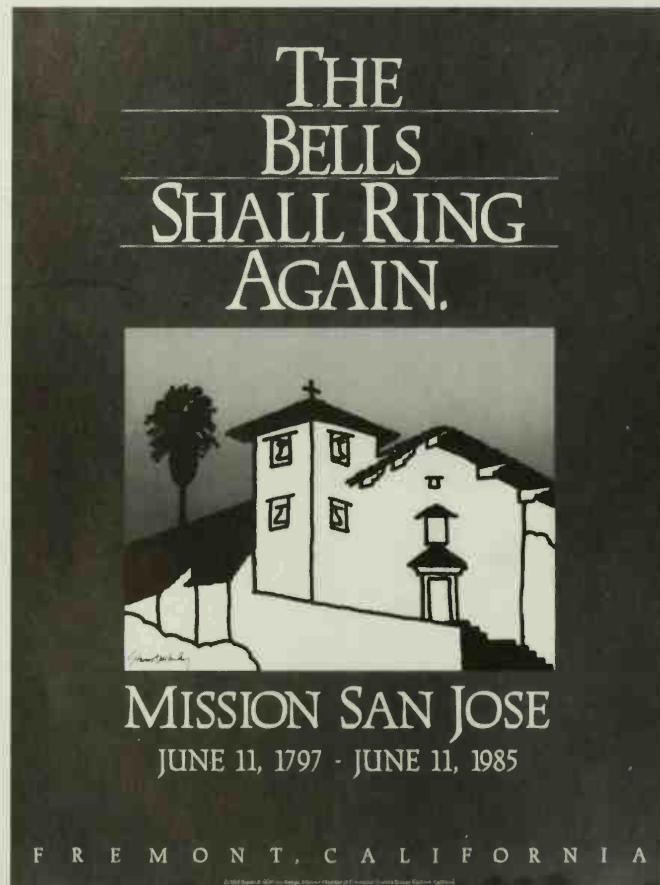


Courses in housekeeping and domestic arts were central parts of the school's original curriculum. Even after the school became a college, food preparation, sewing, and millinery remained important course offerings. Photo by Gabriel Moulin Studios, 1914.

A physical education class on the Lux School's rooftop playground. The ideal of all-around personal development was an important component of the school's educational philosophy.



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Edited by James J. Rawls

Iron Will: The Life and Letters of Jane Stanford.

By Gunther W. Nagel. (Stanford, California: Stanford Alumni Association, copyright 1975, revised edition 1985).

Reviewed by Glenda Riley, professor of history and director of the Women's Studies Program at the University of Northern Iowa.

This lavishly illustrated volume, produced in a wide coffee table format, is a fitting testimonial to Jane Lathrop Stanford. As co-founder of the university that bears the name of her only child, a lad who died of typhoid fever in Florence, Italy, while traveling with his mother in 1884, Jane Stanford deserves the attention accorded to her here.

While this book purports to be a collection of Stanford's letters, it is actually more of a biography with a number of her letters interspersed. It is not, however, an analytical study of her life, personality, and contributions to Stanford University, but rather a revelation of the tenacious, creative, compassionate, and concerned woman who not only helped her husband found the school, but argued for the admission of women to its student body and, perhaps most importantly, kept the infant institution alive after Leland Stanford's death during the Panic of 1893.

In fact, approximately three-fourths of the book is devoted to her struggle to keep Stanford open despite counsel from her economic advisors that the now-shaky Stanford fortune, derived largely from the Central Pacific Railway Company, could no longer sustain the school. Drawing upon a personality of "iron will" and a religious zeal based upon her belief that the sustenance of Stanford was a task assigned to her by God, Jane Stanford labored long and aggressively to keep the university going. During the course of her endeavors, she not only demonstrated courage

and tenacity, but a compassion and social nature that resulted in many firm friendships with Stanford students.

When she turned control of Stanford over to the Board of Trustees in 1903, she was seventy-five years old. Two years later she died in Honolulu while seeking well-deserved respite from her many responsibilities. According to the author, a medical doctor with an interest in western history who was a contemporary of Jane Stanford, she left behind not only a major university, but contributions to women's education and the feminist movement as well. Neither Stanford's achievements nor her personal documents will be lost or overlooked as a result of his prodigious efforts. □

Native American Aliens: Disloyalty and the Renunciation of Citizenship by Japanese Americans during World War II.

By Donald E. Collins. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985, 218 pp., \$29.95.)

Reviewed by Donald Teruo Hata, Jr., Ph.D., Professor of History, California State University, Dominguez Hills.

One year before the end of the World War II, over 5,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry renounced their U.S. citizenship. The majority of renunciants were incarcerated in Tule Lake Segregation Center in northern California. Tule Lake's designation by the U.S. War Relocation Authority (WRA) as the prime segregation center for alleged "disloyals" among the 112,000 incarcerated in nine other WRA concentration camps was the result of a number of factors, including its inmates' reputation for overt resistance to perceived acts of injustice. The camp was placed under

martial law in the winter of 1943-1944, after the death of an incarcerated in a farm truck accident and a subsequent strike which reflected extremely volatile and uncompromising positions by camp administrators and strike leaders.

In this first scholarly publication to focus exclusively on the causes and effects of the renunciation of citizenship by a significant minority (one in every fourteen American citizens of Japanese descent), Donald E. Collins contends that the seemingly disloyal action actually had very little to do with allegiance. Indeed, his comprehensive review of existing sources and use of hitherto unavailable materials reveals that the vast majority of renunciants were reacting against numerous hardships and unjust treatment at the hands of U.S. officials as well as the social pressures and fears created by fellow incarcerated. Conditions at Tule Lake were unique; it had a reputation for "including virtually all the trouble-makers, the malcontents, the factious, the rebellious and frustrated, the draft-dodgers, the fanatics, the social misfits, the professional 'organizers,' the petty 'politicians,' and 'political' leaders, and their gangs of 'goons' and 'strong-arm' boys" (p. 36). The latter were a relatively small but well organized group of militant "shaved-heads" who openly practiced military drills and advocated traditional Japanese customs. The presence of many Kibei (Nisei who had spent part of their youth in Japan) in the Tule Lake camp made them synonymous with pro-Japan activities in the eyes of WRA officials and their collaborationist allies in the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). In addition to examining the cultural, sociological, psychological and political factors that converged as causative elements, Collins clarifies the catalytic role of the notorious "loyalty" questionnaire.

The idea of segregating "disloyal" incarcerated originated as early as 1942, when the JACL petitioned President Roosevelt to form an all-Nisei combat

unit. By February 1943, the Army and WRA began to distribute questionnaires which were very similar, but differed in their titles and requirements for response. The Army's intent was to identify evacuees willing to demonstrate their loyalty through military service, and it asked for a voluntary response from draft-age male Nisei. The WRA questionnaire was compulsory for all evacuees and contained two particularly clumsy questions. Question 27 asked: "If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC (Women's Army Auxiliary Corps)?" Question 28 asked: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?" Among the 74,588 respondents in all ten WRA camps, some 6,700 answered "No-No" to the two questions. Collins describes in convincing detail the paranoid environment which influenced the great majority of "No-Nos" to use that response, not because of loyalty to Imperial Japan, but as a "symbolic protest against the evacuation and all that had happened since then" (p. 27). The "No-No" episode was a preview of the subsequent renunciation action.

Wayne Collins (no relation to the author) emerges as an uncompromising defender of civil liberties. The volatile San Francisco attorney stubbornly fought during the war for the restoration of U.S. citizenship for the renunciants and continued his efforts until the last case was settled in 1968. Among the villains are the JACL and certain American Civil Liberties Union figures like A. L. Wirin who viewed the "No-Nos" and renunciants as too controversial.

Fully half the volume is composed of appendixes including testimony and correspondence by officials and renunciants. With the appearance of this specialized analysis, along with other recent

studies such as Peter Irons' *Justice at War, The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford, 1983), the historiography of the Japanese American experience in World War II has moved beyond oft-repeated general themes and into detailed and diverse dimensions of the subject. Collins' notes and bibliography provide useful hints for more inquiries toward that goal. □

Artists in California, 1786-1940.

By Edan Milton Hughes. (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Company, 1986, 533 pp., \$60.00)

Reviewed by Robert Winter, Professor of History, Occidental College.

California may be the product of competing railroads and real estate speculators, but it is also the creation of artists who painted its natural beauty into the American mind. So much of our image of California is that of limners who came here for subject matter and turned what they found into their dream of the good life that today we see even the now-besmirched hills through the eyes of those painters, and we dream their dreams of poppy fields creased with rills of live oaks.

A number of years ago I was involved with an exhibition devoted to the work of California artisans who were followers of the handicraft ideals of William Morris, the great English social reformer. The main intention of the show, entitled "California Design-1910," was to exhibit furniture, ceramics, and assorted bric-a-brac of the California arts and crafts movement and incidentally back it up with paintings of the same period. As everyone who attended that exhibition in a hall behind the Pasadena Civic Auditorium well remembers, we became so enamored of the paintings that we simply covered the entire vast

wall space with them. They almost stole the show.

Edan Hughes' dictionary of California artists covers the period 1786 to 1940, but the bulk of his people, like ours, flourished at the turn of the nineteenth century when artists, conscious of the dramatic changes in American life caused by the machine and the growth of cities, found California a welcome respite from the pageant of progress and painted the golden land and romantic missions as symbols of a better day. He does not try to tell the story of California art in this period. Some readers may fault him for this omission. After all, his diligent search for the lives and works of 6,600 people must have given him marvelous insights into the relationships and themes in the history of California art. He spent twenty-five years amassing this material. Surely he could have written at least a modest introductory essay.

But that being noted, I must go on to say that I am absolutely in awe of Hughes' scholarship and the amount of information that it produced. If the word were not so overused, I would say that this huge tome is "incredible." In fact, I will use it. It is almost unbelievable that without graduate students or other slaves, one man could assemble so many facts about often itinerant artists whose very gadding-about makes their lives hard to pin down. Hughes interviewed many of the artists themselves. Most of them are, however, long gone but not forgotten by friends and relatives whom Hughes has also consulted. His list of acknowledgments testifies to the multiplicity of his sources and his extensive bibliography suggests other caches. This book is thoroughly researched.

What about accuracy? It is a pleasure and something of a surprise these days to find a book so well edited, with so few typographical errors, so clean. As a perpetrator of lists myself, I know the hazards of misplaced commas and misspelled words. That there are so few in

this work bodes well for the accuracy of the facts. It is, of course, impossible to check these out, but in the case of artists whose lives I know (or knew) there are only the mistakes of omission, none of commission. Hughes might, for instance, have noted that Katherine Beecher Stetson (Chamberlin) was the daughter of Charles Walter Stetson whom he listed, too briefly, immediately above her, and that her mother was Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the famous feminist and also a very minor painter, but that he listed Katherine Stetson at all and with such detailed information on her art is a wonder. In his otherwise determined effort to suggest the repositories of major works by his artists Hughes missed the many albums of Eva Scott Fenyes' water-colors that are housed in the vaults of the Pasadena Historical Society. Such omissions will undoubtedly turn up for other artists and can easily be inserted in future editions. They are minor and in no way detract from the contribution that Hughes has made to the art history of California—and the United States.

This is a fine book. Hughes should now write the history of California art that he has in his mind. Or, if that is not his cup of tea, why not a dictionary of California architects? He has to spend his next twenty-five years doing something as important as the book reviewed here. □

North Beach: The Italian Heart of San Francisco.

By Richard Dillon. (Novato: Presidio Press, 1985, 183 pp., illus., \$35.00).

Reviewed by Andrew Rolle, the Cleveland Professor of History at Occidental College whose most recent book is The Italian Americans: Troubled Roots.

This is the third volume published in recent years about San Francisco's Italians. In 1979 Deanna Gumina's *The*

Italians of San Francisco dealt with their activities during the period from 1850 to 1930. During 1982 Dino Cinel's *From Italy to San Francisco* supplemented Gumina's work. Richard Dillon confines his description to North Beach, today a withering center of the once robust Italian community. Only a few years ago, regional histories of immigrant groups were a rarity, especially those pertaining to the American West.

Recently, such books have commendably broken with the outmoded views of Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* (1950), which portrayed the immigrant as a kind of misfit. Dillon specifically takes a stand against this approach (page 3), where he mentions the countervailing theme of my own *The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America* (1968). In nineteenth century San Francisco, and in the gleaming new cities of the West, the stereotype of the Italian organ-grinder with a monkey on a leash faded rapidly. At North Beach the brutalities of factory life, so familiar on the East Coast, were not replicated, despite individual injustices against foreigners. There were half a dozen Italian-American millionaires in North Beach alone, of whom A. P. Giannini, founder of the Bank of America, was only one. Giannini's story, which Dillon tells in detail, differed from what it might have been in an eastern ghetto. There are many other examples of prosperous merchants and tradesmen, such as the Di Maggios, Aliotos, and Molinaris, who were strengthened by California's nourishing agricultural hinterland and rich offshore fisheries. At the Golden Gate, and elsewhere in the Far West too, the immigrant past faded all too quickly into the suburbs.

One is apt to think of Dillon as a generalist-researcher, but not an academic precisionist one (he writes better than most of the latter). Yet he has put together an effective book about a national group difficult to portray, one that is not his own. Although he has benefited from the spadework of Gumina,

Cinel, and other ethnic specialists, the author here moves beyond the role of synthesizer and popularist. To be sure, he encountered organizational difficulties (the 1906 earthquake and fire are described after modern-day Fisherman's Wharf). Also, the story of the great tenor Enrico Caruso during that event still yearns to be fully told. But Dillon has done a talented job of describing San Francisco's Italianate ethos as it was played out in a fading enclave.

Finally, this is in large part a book of photographs taken by a remarkable artist-photographer, J. B. Monaco (1856–1938). From his North Beach studios, Monaco caught the spirit of immigrants who inhabited the wooden houses of an Italian village within a larger city. Although some of these photos are undated, they remain invaluable replicas of a colorful past from the 1880s into the 1930s. They were assembled by Lynn L. Davis, photo editor. □

Coxey's Army.

By Carlos A. Schwantes. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1985, 321 + xii pp., illus., \$22.95)

Reviewed by David F. Selvin.

The legions of unemployed workers who made up Coxey's Army came from nearly every corner of the nation, from the cities of the midwest, the forests of the Pacific northwest, the fields and docks of California, the mining camps of the Rocky Mountain west, and uncounted more. Through a hot summer, they headed by every possible means for the nation's capital to present their demand for jobs to a timid and uncertain Congress, an unfriendly administration, a nervous, uneasy nation.

Banks crashed, businesses failed in the 1893–94 economic disaster, but unemployment emerged increasingly as its hallmark. When the American Federa-

tion of Labor convened in Chicago in that dark winter, Sam Gompers remembered, delegates emerging from evening sessions picked their way down the stairs "over men who were lying on the steps and on the floor with only newspapers for protection."

Coxey's Army marched under the banner of the Commonwealth of Christ, though they were by no means of one creed or program. Their leader was Jacob Sechler Coxey, an unlikely spokesman for an army of jobless workers. He was wealthy in his own right, the owner of a profitable sandstone quarry, several ranches, and several dozen blooded race horses. Nevertheless, it was his proposal of a massive—for 1894—program of public works to create jobs around which Coxey's Army was built. His second in command was the flamboyant, sometime Californian Carl Browne, charlatan, street peddler and orator, cartoonist, labor organizer. He it was, Schwantes says, who first proposed the march and who gave it much of its dramatic front as well as its content.

The first units of Coxey's Army left Massillon, Ohio, Coxey's hometown, on foot, but, in a pattern that was endlessly repeated that spring and summer, they marched only when no other means of transportation was available. Particularly in the west, several thousand miles distant from their goal, the Coxey contingents sought every other means of transport. When they could not obtain cheap passage or rent trains of box cars, they stole rides or, more than once, entire trains, fleeing in ultimate futility from railroad agents and federal marshals. They built or borrowed boats to ride the rivers.

Even as these sizable bodies of marchers were still making their way eastward, Coxey and Browne opened their assault on the government. On May 1 they marched in force on the Capitol, intending to present their demand for jobs from its steps. The march ended in a small riot, the arrest of Browne and a marcher and, when he appeared in court as a witness,

Coxey himself. They were charged with trampling shrubs and bushes on the Capitol grounds and carrying banners—the small insignia they wore in their lapels. They were sentenced to twenty days in jail.

Schwantes effectively sets the stage in his opening prologue. He sums up its import in his final chapter. In between he diligently tracks the travels of the Coxey contingents, by road, rail, and river; the sometimes heated competition of governors to keep the armies from entering their states or to move them on to their neighbors; the wild chases that ensued when marchers could not or would not pay regular passenger fares; the bewildering variety of welcomes that greeted them from town to town.

These accounts, interesting and thorough as they are in themselves, seem to me to be more descriptive than substantive. Who were these people? Who opposed them and why? What were the political responses, the ramifications of the marchers' protest? What was happening in the organized labor movement? In the communities of workers? Did these trans-continental parades of the jobless leave no waves in their wake? These and related questions are not totally ignored, but the answers seem needlessly cryptic. I keep wishing the author had pursued his researches into the culture of the marchers and their times with the same thoroughness and diligence that he displays in recording their travels. □

Sacred Places of San Francisco

Narrative by Ruth Hendricks Willard and Carol Green Wilson. Photographs by Roy Flamm. Architectural comment by Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. (Novato, Ca.: Presidio Press, 1985. xxiii, 264 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Eldon G. Ernst, Profes-

sor of American Religious History, Archives, and Theological Bibliography at the Graduate Theological Union and the Franciscan School of Theology. Author of Moment of Truth for Protestant America—Interchurch Campaigns Following World War I and Without Help or Hindrance—Religious Identity in American Culture.

Early in their research, the authors of *Sacred Places* discovered the paucity of published literature on the collective religious history of San Francisco, or indeed of any major American city. The same is true of the far western United States, including California. This scholarly void is lamentable especially regarding California's unusually diverse and eventful religious history. In San Francisco the religions of the world have thrived since mid-nineteenth century. The marks of this pluralistic religious heritage may be found in the city's social and cultural life, in its institutions, and in its architecture.

Sacred Places of San Francisco, therefore, is an important publishing event. Its purpose is to explore the panorama of religious traditions as they have developed within San Francisco's social history and now are represented architecturally in their churches, synagogues, and temples. The authors combine historical narrative with commentary on religious traditions and architecture. Photographer Roy Flamm provides dozens of artful internal and external views of religious places of worship. The result is a beautiful and substantial volume of history and photography.

The book is divided into four periods, each introduced by a descriptive survey of the city's social and religious history. Selected congregational histories are then briefly presented in the chronological order of their founding during each period (a total of seventy-six), each accompanied by architectural discussion and (in most cases) a photograph of its present place of worship. Though directed to the general reader, and there-



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St. Ignatius Church, at Fulton and Parker Streets, photographed from Buena Vista Park.

fore not a critical or highly technical work, the book nevertheless is a valuable resource for the professional scholar. It contains a wealth of information about persons, places, and events that contribute to the overall history of religion in San Francisco, plus a rich visual portrayal of the city's present-day religious architecture. A glossary of architectural terms, a map of present-day locations of "sacred places," a well-selected bibliography, and a thoughtful index add to the usefulness of the book for all kinds of readers.

The first period (1776–1851) traces the transformation of the presidio and Mission San Francisco de Asis, first through the 1835 founding of the pueblo of San Francisco, then suddenly into a cosmopolitan city following the gold rush and California statehood. By then a variety of Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, and Chinese worshippers had established "sacred places." They brought their traditions from the eastern and midwestern United States, Central and South America, Europe, Asia, and the Pacific Islands. This pattern continued during the next period (1852–1875). Black pioneers arrived, as did many more Chinese immigrants. Greek Orthodox Christians established their first congregations, as did Seventh-day Adventists and Quakers. Then came south and east Europeans, Scandinavians and Russians, Japanese and South Asians. They kept half of the rapidly-growing city's population foreign-born and contributed to the proliferation of new and varied houses of worship during the third period (1875–1915). Buddhist, Hindu, and Moslem communities were formed, as were congregations of Christian Scientists and the Salvation Army.

Because the 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed so many buildings, a turning point in San Francisco's architectural and social religious history occurred at that time. By the time of the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915 many religious structures had been rebuilt, some in new loca-



All Saints Episcopal Church on Waller Street in the Haight Ashbury district.

tions. Henceforth a majority of the city's religious buildings were post-1906. With the growth and expansion of the city into a metropolitan area during the modern period (1915–1985), many religious congregations relocated and/or rebuilt for sociological reasons. Modern complex society also stimulated new kinds of religious social services, which affected the functional and architectural character of buildings. Migration and immigration to California continued throughout the twentieth century, and especially since World War II religious communities have grown in number and diversity in the Golden Gate city described by the authors as historically tolerant.

Overall, *Sacred Places* is a splendid success, though its ambitious goals present some conceptual problems. Whereas the narrative form of the text is historical, the principle for selecting particular congregations for discussion primarily is architectural. This process somewhat thwarts the attempt to integrate architecture and religious history accurately, and it detracts from the clarity of each. On the one hand, because photographs of contemporary "sacred places" appear in the chronological order of the founding of the religious congregations, rather than in the chronological order of the building of the structures themselves, the architectural history is blurred. On the other hand, religious history also suffers from the principle of selection based on

present-day architecture. The authors chose buildings according to their photogenicity and distinctive design, concerned also to balance the representation of the various faith traditions. But religious plurality and tolerance, while commendable, do not imply an historical balance of faith traditions within San Francisco society. Moreover, to leave out important old congregations (such as the First Chinese Baptist Church) for architectural reasons gives a less than accurate impression of the overall historical configuration of religious groups. That some churches are discussed, but not photographed, suggests that the authors' historical sense did balance their architectural appreciation.

However, the introductory essays recognize and minimize these problems. The history is balanced; and architectural analyses clarify the dynamics of the development of Hispanic-Mexican late Baroque and Neoclassical traditions, of American Gothic Revival and Richardson Romanesque, of Chinese Renaissance, and of various modern designs. One must conclude that *Sacred Places of San Francisco* breaks new ground. As an historical narrative and as a collection of architectural photography it makes a significant contribution to California history and to the religious history of the American people. It is well-conceived, nicely written, and artfully photographed. □

Early California Oil: A Photographic History, 1865–1940.

By Kenny A. Franks and Paul F. Lambert. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1985, 243 pp., \$34.50.)

Reviewed by Gerald T. White, professor of history at the University of California, Irvine and author of three books and several articles on the history of oil in California.

This handsome volume is the fourth in a series of primarily photographic histories devoted to oil industry development in a major oil-producing state. It is based on an assiduous search for photographs in libraries, oil publishing firms, historical societies, trade organizations and, above all, the archives of oil companies. The pictures focus primarily on the dramatic story of oil production and pipelines; refining and marketing are accorded much less attention.

The text supplements the photographs and captions in nine chapters based on secondary materials. Human interest looms large in the stories that are told. After a very brief chapter tracing the California oil story to 1900 in six pages, the authors intersperse among appropriate groups of pictures chapters on the major coastal fields running from Santa Maria to the Los Angeles basin before turning their attention to the development of the San Joaquin Valley fields from Coalinga to Elk Hills. This emphasis on the period after 1900 is clearly justified, for in the period ending in 1940 California ranked first among oil states in crude oil production for fourteen years and rarely ranked as low as third.

It is perhaps inevitable that a book centering so heavily on photographs should seem somewhat disjointed, episodic, short in sketching in why the California industry developed as it did. Thus no

attention is given to the chemistry of California's asphaltic crudes, so different from the paraffin crudes of the historic oil regions in their relatively low gravity and excessive carbon, yielding a distinctly inferior kerosine when refined at a time when kerosine was the chief money product for the industry. Not until the later 1890s was a process devised for turning out a good kerosine, helping pave the way for the construction of the big Standard Oil refinery at Richmond. Nor do the authors note that California's lack of easy access to commercial supplies of coal encouraged oil entrepreneurs to find markets for the bulk of their oil as fuel, supplying fuel for transportation, both on land and water, industry, agriculture, the manufacture of gas, and domestic cooking and heating. The authors could also have noted that during the years of booming

production in the early twentieth century, California led the nation in the transition to leadership from so-called practical oil men to formally trained applied scientists, many of them from Stanford and the University of California, Berkeley. This was important for efficiency in oil exploration and development and for the early stages of conservation. An overview chapter dealing with these and other factors could have added measurably to the usefulness of their book.

The impact of *Early California Oil* is mainly visual. It is an attractive coffee-table book on an unlikely subject. It should delight oil buffs and may also stimulate others to seek a greater understanding of the history of the mineral which was as clearly the most important in California in this century as was gold in the last. □



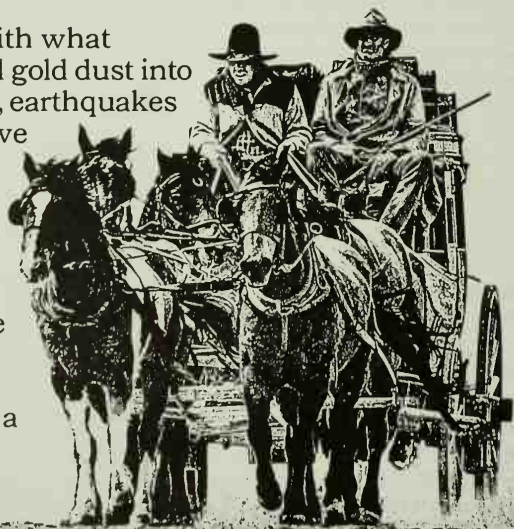
The early development of offshore oil in Southern California was a picturesque phase of the state's oil industry which implied competition for land resources in a way not apparent inland.

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CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

by Bruce L. Johnson, CHS Director of Libraries

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Calhoun, Margaret. *Pioneers of Mono Basin*. Lee Vining: Artemisia Press, 1984. \$6.95 (paper). Order from: Artemisia Press; Post Office Box 119; Lee Vining, CA 93541.

Chandler, Robert J. *San Francisco Clearing House Certificates; Last of California's Private Money*. Reno: McDonald Publishing, 1986. \$3.95 (plus 75¢ postage; paper). Order from: McDonald Publishing; Post Office Box 20443; Reno, NV 89515.

Conlin, Joseph R. *Bacon, Beans, and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. \$22.50. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

Dillon, Richard H. *Wells, Fargo Detective: A Biography of James B. Hume*. New Foreword by Roger D. McGrath. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. \$8.95 (paper). Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

Drury, William. *Norton I, Emperor of the United States: A Biography of One of America's Most Colorful Eccentrics*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986. \$16.95. Order from: Dodd, Mead; 79 Madison Avenue; New York, N.Y. 10016.

Dwyer, Msgr. John T. *Catholics in the Gold Country: History of the Catholic Church in Auburn, 1861-1986*. \$20.00. Order from: St. Joseph's Catholic Church; 1162 Lincoln Way; Auburn, CA 95603.

Gunn, George C. *Documentation of Victorian and Post-Victorian Residential and Commercial Buildings, City of Alameda, 1854 to 1904*. Alameda: Alameda Historical Society, 1985. \$20.00 (plus \$1.00 postage), which includes a one-year membership in the Alameda Historical Society. Order from: George Gunn, Curator; Alameda Historical Museum; 1327 Oak Street; Alameda, CA 94501.

Hall, John R. *Gone from the Promised Land: Jonestown in American Cultural History*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1986. \$29.95. Order from: Transaction Books; Rutgers—the State University; New Brunswick, NJ 08903.

Hallan-Gibson, Pamela. *The Golden Promise: An Illustrated History of Orange County*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986. \$27.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.

Heig, James, and Shirley Mitchell (eds.). *Both Sides of the Track: A Collection of Oral Histories from Belvedere and Tiburon*. Shirley Mitchell and Cathy Debs Epstein, Historians. San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1986. \$18.00 (cloth), \$15.00 (paper). Order from: Scottwall Associates; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Helmich, Stephen G. *Sacramento's 1854 City Hall & Waterworks*. Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1984. \$3.95 (paper). Order from: Sacramento County Historical Society; Post Office Box 1175; Sacramento, CA 95806.

Historic Houses of the Sacramento River Delta. Edited by Kathleen Mary Graham; Illustrations by Chris Spencer. Walnut Grove: Sacramento

River Delta Historical Society, 1984. \$5.95 (paper). Order from: Sacramento River Delta Historical Society; Post Office Box 293; Walnut Grove, CA 95690.

History of Placer County, California, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers. 1882; reprinted, Auburn: The Placer County Historical Society, 1986. \$24.95 (cloth, plus \$4.00 postage). Order from: The Placer County Historical Society; Post Office Box 5643; Auburn, CA 95604.

Hoffpauir, Corinne Graves (comp.). *Shasta County, California, 1852-1880: Births, Deaths, Divorces, and Marriages Recorded Elsewhere*. Redding: C.G. Hoffpauir, 1986. \$12.00 (paper; plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: C.G. Hoffpauir; Post Office Box 901; Redding, CA 96099.

Issel, William, and Robert W. Cherny. *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Power, Politics, and Urban Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. \$35.00. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Japanese-American Curriculum Project, Inc. *Japanese-American Journey: The Story of a People*. Florence M. Hongo, General Editor. San Mateo: Japanese-American Curriculum Project, Inc., 1985. \$22.50 (cloth), \$12.95 (paper). Order from: Japanese-American Curriculum Project, Inc.; Post Office Box 367, 414 East Third Street; San Mateo, CA 94401.

Johnson, Leroy, and Jean Johnson (eds.). *Escape from Death Valley: As Told by William Lewis Manly and Other '49ers*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. \$12.95 (paper). Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

Keating Bern. *The Legend of the Delta Queen*. New Orleans: The Delta Queen

C H E C K L I S T

- Steamboat Company, 1986. \$17.95 (cloth), \$10.00 (paper). Order from: The Delta Queen Steamboat Company; 30 Robin Street Wharf; New Orleans, LA 70130.
- Kime, William, and Maymie Kime. *John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1986. \$40.00 (plus \$1.50 postage). Order from: Panorama West Books, 2002 North Gateway, #102; Fresno, CA 93727.
- Miles, Dione (comp.). *Something in Common—An IWW Bibliography*. Foreword by Philip P. Mason. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986. \$49.50. Order from: Wayne State University Press; The Leonard N. Simons Building; 5959 Woodward Avenue; Detroit, MI 48202.
- Queenan, Charles F. *Long Beach and Los Angeles: A Tale of Two Ports*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986. \$24.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- San Antonio Valley Historical Association. *King City, California: The First Hundred Years, 1886–1986*. King City: The San Antonio Valley Historical Association, 1986. \$3.00 (paper). Order from: King City Chamber of Commerce; 203 Broadway; King City, CA 93930.
- Sandberg, Neil C. *Jewish Life in Los Angeles: A Window to Tomorrow*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1986. \$17.50 (paper). Order from: University Press of America, Inc.; Post Office Box 19101; Washington, D.C. 20036.
- Santa Rosa: *A Nineteenth-Century Town*. By Gaye LeBaron, Dee Blackman, Joann Mitchel, and Harvey Hansen. Santa Rosa: Historia, Ltd., 1985. \$39.95 (plus \$2.15 postage). Order from: Historia, Ltd.; 1224 St. Helena Avenue; Santa Rosa, CA 95404.
- Scheid, Ann. *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986. \$24.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- Shanahan, Dennis, and Charles Elliott, Jr. *Historic Torrance: A Pictorial History of Torrance, California*. Redondo Beach: Legends Press, 1984. \$46.00. Order from: Legends Press; Redondo Beach, CA 90277.
- Shumate, Albert. *The Notorious I.C. Woods of the Adams Express*. Foreword by Kevin Starr. The American Trails Series, Volume 15. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1986. \$16.50. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.
- Simpson, Jean Marshall. *The History of the British Benevolent Society of California, Inc., 1844–1986*. San Francisco: The British Benevolent Society of California, Inc., 1986. \$5.00 (plus \$1.50 postage; paper). Order from: The British Benevolent Society of California, Inc.; 333 Kearny Street, Suite 210; San Francisco, CA 94108.
- Verardo, Denzil, and Jennie Verardo. *Napa Valley: From Golden Fields to Purple Harvest*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986. \$22.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- Weaver, Chase (comp.). *A Guide to the Allen Knight and Capt. Walter F. Lee Photograph Collections*. Introductions by Allene Fremier and Robert A. Weinstein. Monterey: Herald Printers, 1986. \$8.00 (paper, including tax, plus \$1.00 postage). Order from: Allen Knight Maritime Museum; Post Office Box 805; Monterey, CA 93940.
- Wilk, John R. *The Creation of an Ensemble: The First Years of the American Conservatory Theater*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986. \$19.95 (cloth), \$9.95 (paper). Order from: Southern Illinois University Press; Post Office Box 3697; Carbondale, IL 62902-3697.
- Yung, Judy. *Chinese Women of America: A Pictorial History*. San Francisco and Seattle: Chinese Cultural Center and the University of Washington Press, 1986. \$25.95 (cloth), \$12.95 (paper, plus \$2.00 postage for either edition). Order from: Chinese Cultural Center; 750 Kearny Street, Third Floor; San Francisco, CA 94108.

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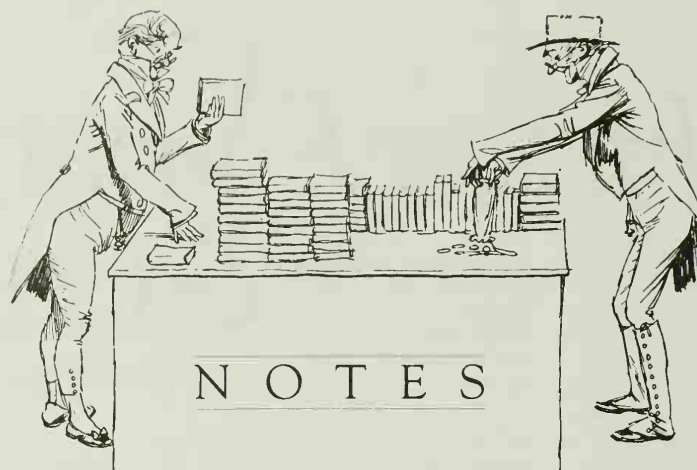
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Rubens, Anita Whitney, pp. 158-171

1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 5, 1955.
2. *New York Times*, September 17, 1922
3. *Oakland Tribune*, October 18, 1925.
4. Louise Todd Lambert, interview with author, January 11, 1986. Referred to as Louise Todd.
5. Al Richmond, *Native Daughter*, (San Francisco: Anita Whitney 75th Anniversary Committee, 1942). Richmond interviewed Whitney on three different occasions and had access to her well kept scrapbook and extensive clipping file. The Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library, and the C. C. Young Manuscript Collection at the California State Archives, Sacramento have a substantial clipping file on Whitney which provided corroborative personal information. Dorothy Healey interview with author, May 27, 1986.
6. Field was appointed by President Lincoln in 1861 in an effort to secure Republican support in California. He served thirty-four years on the bench and was considered a conservative jurist. He was childless, left one-third of his estate to Whitney upon the death of his wife, the sister of Whitney's mother. John C. Hogan and Ewald W. Schnitzer, "The Last Will and Testament of Stephen J. Field," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 36, no. 1: 41-55.
7. Ellen Conditte Lagemann, *A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).
8. Richmond, pp. 30, 33.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
10. Richmond, pp. 30, 33, 35, 36; *Overland Monthly*, XV (87): 224.
11. Louise Todd Lambert Oral History, Women in California Collection, California Historical Society 1976; Leah Schneiderman interview with author, May 11, 1986. When Al Richmond who as editor of the *People's World* was asked to prepare *Native Daughter* was told of this exchange, he retorted: "She was a better historian than I; I should have asked her, but I was intimidated by her stature and reserve." Al Richmond, interview with author, April 15, 1986. The author is greatly indebted to Al Richmond, one of the best historians on the left.
12. Lisa Rubens, "A Good Place for a Woman to Be," paper delivered at the Women's West Conference, Provo, Utah, July 1984; partially reprinted in *Plainswoman*, 8, no. 6 (March 1985): 6-7.
13. Richmond, p. 29.
14. *Richmond*, pp. 52-53; Selina Solomons, *How We Won the Vote in California: a true story of the campaign of 1911* (San Francisco: New Woman Publishing Co., n.d.), p. 29. Eileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1971).
15. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *Rebel Girl*, (New York: Masses and Mainstream, 1955; rev. ed., International Publishers, 1973), pp. 196-7; Richmond, p. 63.
16. Cletus Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers 1870-1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) p. 88.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 300; Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields* (1935; rev. ed. Santa Barbara, Peregrine Publishers, Inc., 1971); Richmond, p. 63.
18. Eugene V. Debs, *Writings and Speeches* (New York: Hermitage Press, 1948).
19. Walton Bean, *California, An Interpretive History*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968, 2d ed. 1973); McWilliams, pp. 39-27; Bruce Dancis, "Socialism and Women in the United States, 1900-1917, *Socialist Revolution* 6, no. 1: 81-144; Mary Barbutt, *Los Angeles Socialist*, August 6, 1904. Mari Jo Buhle, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1981.
20. Debs; Bean, pp. 354-367; McWilliams, pp. 152-167; Estolv War, *The Gentle Dynamiter*, (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1983).
21. Zechariah Chafee Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); Sidney Lens, *Radicalism in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966); James Weinstein, *The Decline*

- of *Socialism in America 1912-1925* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).
22. Richmond, pp. 91-140.
23. *Ibid.*; Woodrow C. Whitten, "The Trial of Charlotte Anita Whitney," *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (September 1946): 286-294; *Sacramento Bee* and *San Francisco Call* as quoted in Richmond.
24. John Francis Neylan Oral History, Bancroft Library, University of California, 1956.
25. Richmond, Whitten, *Ibid.*
26. *Schenck v. U.S.*, 249 U.S. 47 (1919) Schenck had distributed Socialist literature attacking the draft; *Whitney v. Calif.*, 274 U.S. 357 (1927). I am greatly indebted to discussions with Marge Frantz, History Board, U.C. Santa Cruz, and her unpublished Ph.D Thesis, "Radical Visions: Alexander Meiklejohn on Education, Culture, Democracy and the First Amendment" (1984). The California Criminal Syndicalist law was finally invalidated in Federal District Court, *Harris v. Younger* (1964) because it was "unconstitutionally vague."
27. *New York Times*, September 17, 1922.
28. Neylan.
29. Richmond, p. 139.
30. Richmond, p. 139; Young; Oakland History; Neylan. Neylan believed that Young wanted to cultivate the right wing of the Republican Party. The pardon was issued after Chandler Harris of the *Los Angeles Times*—who originally thought Whitney was a misguided youth in need of a husband—agreed not to condemn the governor for the pardon.
31. Lens; Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*, (New York, 1957; Compass Books 1963).
32. Richmond; William Schneiderman, *Dissent on Trial* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983) pp. 27-28.
33. C. L. Dellums interview with author, March 15, 1986.
34. Irving Bernstein, *The Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker 1933-41* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969); Lisa Rubens and Joseph Blum, "Strike," *California Living*, July 8, 1984. Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1984) p. 413; Marge Frantz interview with author, May 30, 1986.
35. *Western Worker*, November 11, 1934; Klehr, pp. 173-76. Klehr had a private interview with Sam Darcy, Communist Party gubernatorial candidate in 1934.
36. The 1940 Smith Act outlawed political organizations intended to overthrow the government. Its first target was Trotskyists. Whitney must have been disturbed by the prosecutions, but to date there is no evidence of her response. Khler; Robert Shaffer, "Women and the Communist Party, USA 1930-40," *Socialist Review* 9, no. 3 (May-June 1979): 73-118. Khler and Shaffer both argue that the California party had more women members than most states; Lambert; Oleta Conner Yates Manuscript Collection, Bancroft Library.
37. Mickey and Helen Lima interview with author, May 28, 1986.
38. Louise Todd Lambert interview with author, February 11, 1986; Lima.
39. Richmond, pp. 173, 177.
40. Jessica Mitford interview with author, May 28, 1986; Jessica Mitford, *A Fine Old Conflict*, (New York: Vintage, 1956) p. 66.
41. Al Richmond interview with author, January 26, 1986. For example Mary Inman's campaign for wages for housework was covered in the *People's World*. Dorothy Healey Oral History, Special Collections, University of California at Los Angeles, 1970-1, p. 6.
42. L. S. Feuer, "American Travelers to the Soviet Union 1917-1932: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology," *American Quarterly*, XIV (Summer 1962): 119-149.
43. Edith Jenkins interview with author, March 10, 1986.
44. Leah Schneiderman interview with author, May 27, 1986.
45. Richmond, pp. 155-6; Lambert, CHS; Isobel Cirney interview with author, April 16, 1986; Lima.
46. *People's World*, July 7, 1942.
47. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1947; Jack Tenney, *Red Fascism* (Los Angeles: Federal Printing Company, 1947), Whitney to Lima, September 25, 1951, private collection.
48. *People's World*, July 7, 1947.
49. Jenkins.
50. Leah Schneiderman; Celeste Strack interview with author, June 8, 1986; Cirney.
51. Judy King interview with author, June 3, 1986.
52. Lambert.
53. *New York Times*, September 17, 1922.
54. As told by Levin's daughter, Evelyn Wakefield. Interview with author, May 20, 1986.

Sitton, Ten Block, pp. 172-181

1. Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Future of Road-Making in America* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1905), pp. 15-64; Charles L. Dearing, *American Highway Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1941), pp. 219-65; Oscar Osburn Winthur, *The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), pp. 147-156. The process of "modernization" referred to (sans the Good Roads Movement) is described in Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), passim.
2. *Los Angeles Times*, 17 February 1891; P. N. Beringer, "The Good Roads Campaign," *Overland Monthly*, series 2, 52 (September 1908): 285-38; Will Barry, "The Highways of Prosperity: California and Good Roads," *Overland Monthly*, series 2, 53 (April 1909): 334-38; Ben Blow, *California Highways* (San Francisco: the author, 1920), pp. 12-20; Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973), pp. 375-77.
3. Henry R. Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft: His Diaries, Account Books, Card String of Events, and Other Papers," *California Historical Quarterly*, 29 (1950): 97-101; John

- Walton Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft: Historian of the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 46, 66, 388.
4. Wagner, "Bancroft," pp. 99–100; *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 25 January 1890, 13 April 1892.
5. "Card String of Events," p. 127, Albert L. Bancroft Collection, California Historical Society Library, San Francisco, CA. Bancroft offered no details about his discovery of the Ten-Block System while in Frankfurt-Am-Main, Germany. Perhaps the sight of an ancient Roman milestone set his thought process in motion.
6. *Pacific Rural Press*, 21 June 1890, p. 625; "The Ten-Block System" (printed speech of Albert Bancroft delivered at the Fruit Growers Convention in San Jose, California, in November 1892), Bancroft Collection.
7. *Ibid.*; *Los Angeles Times*, 21 March 1897; Ordinance No. 56, Ordinance Book 1, pp. 173–185, Office of the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors, Martinez, CA.
8. See note 6; *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 27 December 1890.
9. *Ibid.*; *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 11 February 1891, 13 April 1892; Minutes of the Board of Supervisors, vol. 10, pp. 296, 308, 322, Office of the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors.
10. Ordinance No. 56, Ordinance Book 1, Office of the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors; *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 6 February 1892.
11. See note 8; *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 13 April, 16 November 1892, 30 September 1893, et. al.; California World's Fair Commission, *Final Report of the California World's Fair Commission* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1894), p. 207.
12. *Contra Costa Semi-Weekly Gazette*, 13 April, 13 July 1892, 28 January 1893; Marshall Cushing, *The Story of Our Post Office* (Boston: A. M. Thayer & Co., 1893), pp. 1009–1001.
13. *Contra Costa Gazette*, 27 May, 30 September 1893; Dice McLaren, "Ten-Block System of Numbering Country Houses," *American Agriculturalist*, 51 (October 1892): 589–90.
14. *Contra Costa Gazette*, June 1893–December 1897, esp. 19 December 1895; Indexes to Road Books and Board of Supervisors Minutes and files of Road Department, Contra Costa County Administrative Offices; *Contra Costa County Telephone Directory* (San Francisco: Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co., February 1914, February 1918–December 1935).
15. Wagner, "Bancroft," p. 362.
16. *Los Angeles Times*, 21, 26 March 1897.
17. *Ibid.*, 25 February 1902; Minutes of the Board of Supervisors, vol. 31, p. 62, Office of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles, CA. Stories in Los Angeles' four largest newspapers at the time did not mention the individual(s) who brought the proposal before the board.
18. *Los Angeles Times*, 30 March 1902.
19. Minutes of the Highway Commission of Los Angeles (1902–1908), pp. 1, 23, 25–26, 59, 69–70, 74, 86, photocopy of typescript copy in possession of author.
20. *Los Angeles Times*, 30 March 1902. Biographical data on the 51 members of the commission from 1902 to 1908 was obtained from city directories, various *Los Angeles Times* and other newspaper clippings, who's who publications, and county histories.
21. Minutes of the Highway Commission of Los Angeles County, passim; *Los Angeles Examiner*, 23 March 1908.
22. *Ibid.*, especially pp. 53–54; *Los Angeles Times*, 21 March 1897. Specifications of the milestones can be verified by two stones in the History Division collections, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. On milestones see, among many others, Frederic J. Wood, *The Turnpikes of New England* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1919), pp. 3, 146–149, 379; Edith Mary Wrightman, *Roman Trier and The Treveri* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), pp. 40, 42, 52–53, 128, 177; Addison, Sir William, *The Old Roads of England* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1980), pp. 37, 108, 110–111.
23. Minutes of the Highway Commission of Los Angeles County, pp. 41, 43, 44, 89; *Los Angeles Times*, 6 July 1905; *Azusa Pomotropic*, 28 September 1906; General Superintendent of Post Office Department to William H. Knight, 4 June and 23 July 1902, Box 57, Miscellaneous Collections, Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles.
24. Minutes of the Highway Commission of Los Angeles County, pp. 24, 60, 62, 65, 94. Road names chosen by the highway commission have been italicized to avoid confusion with present day road names.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 99, 103; Grizzly Bear, January 1908, p. 36; Forbes, A. S. C., Mrs., *California Missions and Landmarks: El Camino Real* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1925), pp. 349–59.
26. *Contra Costa Gazette* 30 September 1893; *Los Angeles Examiner*, 23 March 1908.
27. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 March, 25 June 1907; 2–31 July 1908; Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, *Good Roads in Southern California* (Los Angeles: the author, n.d.), n.p.
28. Minutes of the Highway Commission of Los Angeles County, pp. 122–123, 125, 135. The new highway commission and road maintenance organizations in the five supervisorial districts were joined in 1913 to become the Los Angeles County Road Department.
29. *Ibid.*, especially p. 79; *Los Angeles Examiner*, 23 March 1908.
30. The *Pasadena News*, *South Pasadena*, and *Whittier Daily News* neglected to mention anything about the installation of milestones in their communities in 1906 and 1907; the *Azusa Pomotropic*, 28 September 1906, was an exception. Examples of directories include: *Alhambra City Directory*, 1915–1916 (Huntington Beach, CA: Southern California Directory Co., 1915); *Thurston's Pasadena Directory*, 1907–1908 (Pasadena, CA: Thurston Co., 1907); *Home Telephone Directory* (for Los Angeles and Southern California) (June 1910); *Business Directory and Mercantile Register of Los Angeles*, 1906–1907 (Los Angeles: Mercantile Directory Co., 1906).
31. Albert L. Bancroft, "Improved Road

Blocking for the County" (the author, 1907) and "Card String of Events," pp. 127-128, 136, 139, Bancroft Collection; Wagner, "Bancroft," p. 101.

32. Wagner, "Bancroft," p. 362.

Kramer and Clar, Jacoby, pp. 182-191.

1. Jack London, *Examiner*, San Francisco, July 18, 1901 p. 2. The authors are finishing a volume titled *Jack London and Philo Jacoby on the Rifle in California*. This study is drawn from its pages.
2. Chris T. Westergaard, "The Century-Old Schutzenfest," *The American Rifleman*, March, 1952, pp. 37-38; *Fifteenth Anniversary Golden Jubilee and Shooting Festival of the San Francisco Schuetzen Verein*, (San Francisco, publisher, 1909) unpaginated.
3. "America's Top Sharpshooter," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*, October, 1976, pp. 43-45, hereinafter *WSJHQ*. Hereinafter "America's Top."
4. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1922.
5. *Hebrew*, San Francisco, December 27, 1912, p. 1.
6. For an account of Eckman and the *Weekly Gleaner*, see Reva Clar and William M. Kramer, "Julius Eckman and Herman Bien," *WSJHQ*, January, 1983, pp. 107-130; Part II, April, 1983, pp. 232-253; Part III, July, 1983, pp. 341-359.
7. *Weekly Gleaner*, April 11, 1862, p. 4.
8. *Hebrew*, December 27, 1912, p. 1. The Seligman brothers, Henry, Jesse and William, became well-known financiers and philanthropists of San Francisco.
9. *Hebrew*, December 27, 1912, p. 4. While no complete run of the *Staats-Kalendar* is known to exist, a large number are available in the Special Collections departments of the libraries at the University of California in Berkeley and Los Angeles. All of the issues were in German except for those from 1919 to 1921, which

because of World War I were in English. Berkeley has copies of Jacoby's *Almanach*, started in 1865. It was addressed in separate sections to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish readers.

10. *Jewish Progress*, San Francisco, December 29, 1893, p. 2.
11. "America's Top," p. 43.
12. Robert Ernest Cowan, Ange Bancroft and Addie Ballou, *The Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco*, (Los Angeles, 1964), p. 25. Hereinafter cited as "Cowan."
13. Nathan Newmark, "Eulogy of Philo Jacoby," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, Los Angeles, April 21, 1922, p. 6.
14. Philo Jacoby, *The Rifle in California*, (San Francisco: 1910). The writers express their appreciation to Mrs. Hilda Bohem of the Special Collections division of the U.C.L.A. Research Library who made this volume available and to Mr. Thomas Trevor who gave the use of his text. Cited hereinafter as "Jacoby, *The Rifle*."
15. Jacoby, *The Rifle*, pp. 9-10.
16. *Hebrew*, July 21, 1865, p. 2.
17. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1865, p. 1.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
19. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1867, p. 4.
20. Jacoby, *The Rifle*, p. 13.
21. *Hebrew Leader*, New York, February 7, 1868, p. 4; *Jewish Messenger*, New York, January 31, 1868, p. 4.
22. Jacoby, *The Rifle*, pp. 13-14.
23. *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, April 21, 1922, p. 6; *Fiftieth Anniversary Golden Jubilee and Shooting Festival of the San Francisco Schuetzen Verein*.
24. Jacoby, *Rifle*, pp. 16-17.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
26. *Voice of Israel*, San Francisco, February 10, 1871, p. 6.
27. Jacoby, *Rifle*, pp. 18-22.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.
30. "America's Top," p. 45.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.
32. Jacoby, *Rifle*, pp. 25-26.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.
34. *Jewish Messenger*, New York, October 31, 1873, p. 5.
35. Jacoby, *Rifle*, pp. 27-29. During 1872 the National Rifle Club was organized by the members (including

Jacoby) of the old Deutsche Schutzen Club, which had ceased to exist. *Ibid.* p. 29.

36. "America's Top," p. 45.
37. Cowan, p. 22; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 31, 1904, p. 8.
38. *Hebrew*, December 27, 1912, p. 5. Sir Moses, Sheriff of London, was knighted by Queen Victoria.
39. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1887, p. 7.
40. *The Bee*, Sacramento, July 28, 1976, p. 1.
41. Jacoby, *Rifle*, pp. 2-3, 5. Philo was proud to have his own young disciple, Adolph Strecker, a journeyman barber in a shop patronized by Philo and other San Francisco marksmen. After an intensive course of training with Jacoby, Strecker attended the American Bund Shooting Festival at Baltimore in June, 1874, and became Shooting King of the United States. For details, see *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1901, p. 7, when he became "undisputed rifle king of the United States."
42. *Hebrew*, January 30, 1885, p. 5.
43. *American Israelite*, Cincinnati, August 21, 1890, p. 3.
44. *Jewish Tribune*, Portland, Ore., July 20, 1917, p. 6.
45. "America's Top," p. 45.
46. Victor F. Pollak, *110 Years of San Francisco*, (San Francisco: 1955), pp. 9-10. Pollak who owned a printing company, was Philo's nephew.
47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1922.
48. Jack London, *Examiner*, San Francisco, July 18, 1901, p. 2.
49. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 16, 1901, p. 7.
50. Chris T. Westergaard, "My Days in the Schutzen Game," *The American Rifleman*, April 1952, p. 37. The less capable who could not stay on the black in the one hundred shot championship even could with luck make an impressive three shot score. These were the great drink buyers.
51. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 6, 1901, p. 4, July 21, 1901, p. 19.
52. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1901, p. 7. The strength of the German population in San Francisco was indicated by the press, "15,000 male Germans in

San Francisco over 21 years of age," *ibid.*, July 14, 1901, p. 7.

53. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 1901, p. 24; July 15, 1901, p. 7.
54. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1901, p. 9.
55. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1901, p. 7. Mr. Thomas Trevor the well-known collector and historian of the rifle assisted in this research. He has such a piece. Collectors may secure modern copies of the Westchester from Browning Arms; see the *American Rifleman*, February 1974, p. 50.
56. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 16, 1901, p. 7.
57. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1901, p. 2.
58. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1901, p. 24.
59. Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition III*, (New York, 1921), p. 189.
60. *Jewish Tribune*, Portland, Ore., July 29, 1917, p. 6.
61. *Emanu-El*, October 31, 1919, p. 5; *ibid.*, July 23, 1920, p. 15.
62. *Hebrew*, August 27, 1920, p. 2.
63. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1922; *Emanu-El*, March 31, 1922, p. 5; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 27, 1922; *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, April 21, 1922, p. 6.
64. Cowan, pp. 22, 25. The "German Sport" lost favor as America was preparing to enter World War I and anti-Germanism took over. The revival of rifle shooting as a sport was free of most of the Teutonic tradition—Thomas Trevor interview.

Walton, Picnic, pp. 193–206.

Interviews with Owens Valley residents have not been individually cited but are the source of much of my information on events and moods within the valley. In total, I conducted approximately fifty interviews over a period of four years.

1. Remi A. Nadeau, *The Water Seekers* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974), p. 70.
2. *Los Angeles Daily Times*, November 20, 1924.
3. William L. Kahrl, *Water and Power:*

The Conflict Over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

4. Nadeau, p. 77.
5. This claim appears in all of the histories including the recent and best by Kahrl, *op. cit.*, and Abraham Hoffman, *Vision or Villainry: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1981).
6. Quoted in Kahrl, p. 298.
7. W. A. Chalfant, *The Story of Inyo*, Revised Edition (Bishop, CA: Chalfant Press, 1933).
8. Kahrl, p. 51.
9. *Saga of Inyo County*, Published by the Southern Inyo American Association of Retired Persons (Covina, CA: Taylor Publishing, 1977), p. 97.
10. Ruth E. Baugh, "Land Use in the Bishop Area of Owens Valley, California," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 13 (1937), pp. 17–43; W. F. McClure, *Owens Valley-Los Angeles Controversy*, Letter of Transmittal and Report to Governor Friend Wm. Richardson (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1925); Kahrl.
11. *Inyo County Assessment Roll*, 1900, 1920. Eastern California Museum, Independence, California.
12. Helen McKnight Doyle, *Mary Austin: Woman of Genius* (New York: Gotham House, 1939), pp. 164 and 195.
13. Voter registration data must be used here since the U.S. Census did not report occupational breakdowns for small rural counties. The particular (election) years selected are the closest to other years important in this narrative for which evidence (i.e. surviving copies of the *Great Register*) is available.
14. *Inyo County Anno Domini* (Bishop, CA: The Inyo Register, 1912), p. 24.
15. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946).
16. William L. Kahrl, "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900–1927," Part I, *California Historical Quarterly*, 55, no. 1 (1976), p. 11.
17. *Inyo Register*, August 11, 1905.
18. S. W. Austin, Letter to Theodore

Roosevelt, August 5, 1905 (Record Group 115, Owens Valley Project 527, Department of Interior, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

19. William D. Dehy, Letter to Theodore Roosevelt, August 18, 1905 (Record Group 115, Owens Valley Project 527, Department of Interior, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).
20. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 3, 1905.
21. Lesta V. Parker, Letter to Theodore Roosevelt, August 15, 1905 (Record Group 115, Owens Valley Project 527, Department of Interior, National Archives, Washington, D.C.). Irregular spellings are contained in the original.
22. *To the Right Honorable Secretary of the Interior of the United States*, no date (Record Group 115, Owens Valley Project 527, Department of Interior, National Archives, Washington, D.C.). Some confusion surrounds the exact date and contents of this petition. I found only one document fitting its description in the National Archives. Kahrl, 1982, pp. 54 and 465, describes a petition dated November 1904 signed by "more than 400 individuals owning a total of 102,433 acres." Hoffman, p. 61, describes a petition from "several hundred Owens Valley residents . . . received November 30, 1904." The document I found in the same record group they cite has no date and is signed by 380 persons holding 104,242 acres. It appears that we are referring to the same petition. In any case, the 380 signatories analyzed here most certainly represent the emergent resistance movement.
23. Kahrl, 1982, p. 142.
24. William L. Kahrl, "The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900–1927," Part II, *California Historical Quarterly*, Volume 55, Number 2 (1976), pp. 98–120.
25. *Inyo Register*, June 12, 1919. Italics added.
26. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1919.
27. McClure, p. 14.
28. No evidence of Klan organization in the Owens Valley has ever been produced. The allegation originated in

Los Angeles newspapers hostile to the aqueduct occupation. Several historians subsequently repeated the claim without documentation. Nadeau, for example, simply asserts, "During the summer of 1923, while a revival of the Ku Klux Klan was raging throughout the nation, an organizer was brought into Owens Valley to help form its own band of klansmen. An inner group of this faction took as its main purpose an underground opposition to the Los Angeles water board and its agents" (p. 63). The account is anecdotal and raises puzzling questions such as who was involved, how a radical faction could appear in the demonstrably unified opposition movement, what interest any valley residents might have in the Klan, and why such an organization, if it did exist, would want to oppose Los Angeles. Hoffman (p. 181) merely repeats the claim, citing Nadeau. According to Kahl (p. 293), however, "The Los Angeles papers at first denounced the Wattersons as mobsters and printed false stories linking them with the Ku Klux Klan which even their own correspondents denounced." There is, of course, no way to disprove the existence of the Klan or of Martians in the resistance movement. Conversely, there is no reason to accept such claims without evidence and plausible argument. We do know that hooded men intimidated potential sellers in the small minority partial to Los Angeles (the ritual may have come from the Masonic Lodge, some of whose members were active in the resistance). One elderly person interviewed described such an encounter to me, but interpreted it as plain harassment with no Klan overtones. In lieu of any evidence, it is reasonable to suppose that Klan activity is a myth generated by sensationalist and slanted reporting of different known events and perpetuated by uncritical repetition.

29. *Inyo Register*, June 8, 1922.

30. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1923.

31. The figure of approximately 430 signers is reduced in the table owing

to some duplicated names on the petition and many names that are not found on the voter registration rolls.

32. *Inyo Register*, May 25, 1922.

33. Especially in Nadeau, and sometimes in Hoffman.

34. McClure, Baugh.

35. McClure, p. 22.

36. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 190.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

38. *Inyo County Anno Domini*, p. 22.

Crowder, Lux School, pp. 208-213.

The archives of the Lux School are deposited in the Schubert Hall Library of the California Historical Society in San Francisco, where they are available to researchers.

1. Wesley P. Smith, *A History of Vocational Education in California 1900-1975*, (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1979), p. 2.

2. Theresa M. Otto, "Making Over the Middle Years of Our School System to Meet the Needs of Girls," a paper read before the High School Section of California State Teacher's Association, Stockton, December 27, 1911. (San Francisco: Bolte and Braden Co.)

3. Robert L. Cooke, "Trade and Industrial Education for Girls and Women in California," (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1932).

4. The Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts for Boys, *Circular 2*, June 1901, p. 5.

5. Smith, p. 3.

6. The Lux School of Industrial Training, *The Lux Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1915, p. 3.

7. The Lux School of Industrial Training, *Circular No. 2*, August 1917.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

9. The Lux School of Industrial Training, *Dedication Exercises*.

10. George Merrill, *Review and Forecast of the Educational Work of the Lux En-*

dowment, 1935, p. 1.

11. Doris Pratt and Martha Wickersham, Interview, April, 1981.

12. Lawrence I. Kramer, Jr., *An Outline History of the Miranda Lux Foundation and Its Academic Predecessors*, (San Francisco: Kramer, Blum and Assoc., 1979), pp. 1-2.

13. *The Lux Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1915.

14. Kramer, pp. 5-21.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

17. Merrill, *Review and Forecast*, p. 2.

18. Lux School of Industrial Training, *Circular No. 5*, 1926, p. 8.

19. Kramer, p. 14.

20. The Lux School: A Technical Institute for Girls and Young Women, *Bulletin No. 7*, September 1930.

21. Kramer, p. 18.

22. Lux School: A Technical Institute for Girls and Young Women, *Dedication of the Lux Demonstration Playground*, 1931; *A Recreation Course for Training Playground Directors and Community Center Workers*, 1932; *Courses for Training Assistants for Medical and Dental Offices*, 1932; *Courses for Training Occupational Therapists*, 1932; *Announcement of One Year and Two Year Pre-Nursing Courses*, 1933.

23. U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Bulletin*, no. 13, 1920, p. 8.

24. Lux Technical Institute for Girls and Young Women, *Bulletin*, 1937, p. 2.

25. Cooke, p. 121.

26. Pratt and Wickersham interview.

27. Cooke, p. 161.

28. George Merrill, "The Technical Endowments of San Francisco and the 6-4-4 Plan," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, June 1932, p. 349.

29. Lux College, *Bulletin*, 1942, p. 5.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Lux College, commencement programs, 1942-1953.

32. Herman A. Spindt, Director of Admissions, University of California, "To Whom It May Concern," September 22, 1950.

33. Kramer, p. 36.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

35. Pratt and Wickersham interview.

36. Merrill, 1932, p. 351.



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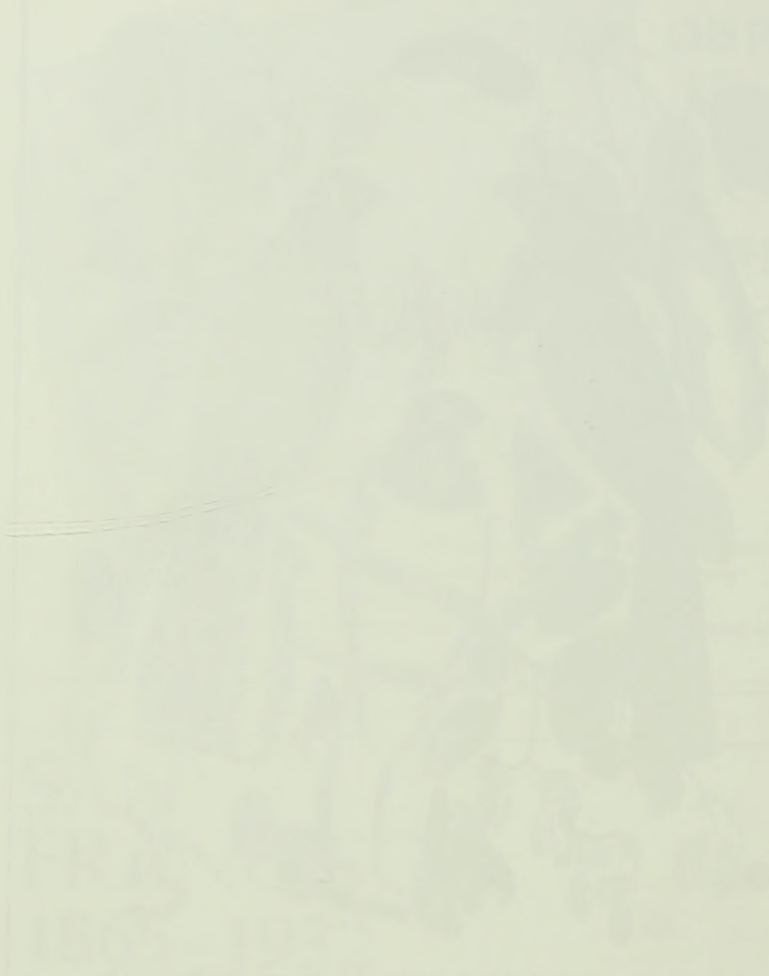
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(ABOVE) Students at the Fort Yuma Indian School about 1890. Founded in 1884, when the Yuma reservation was still administered from Arizona, the Fort Yuma Indian School was one of two southern California boarding schools for Indians in the 1880s. It was operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph under contract to the U.S. government from its founding until 1895, when it was taken over by the Indian Service. Students came to the school at the age of five and stayed until they finished sixth grade following a curriculum divided equally between basic academic skills and "industrial training," which consisted of household chores for girls and farm work for boys. After 1901, students seeking further education went to the Sherman Institute in Riverside or to the Phoenix Industrial School in Phoenix, Arizona, both of which were vocational schools for Indians.

The Indian Service favored boarding schools over day schools from the 1880s on, because it considered the purpose of the schools to be the acculturation of Indian children to white society. Among southern California Indians, the missionized coastal tribes had incorporated a degree of European work culture into their own, but the Yumas and other Colorado River tribes had successfully resisted white domination into the 1870s. The schools brought to bear on children—who were presumably more adaptable than adults—a highly concentrated version of an agenda held by at least some of the proponents of the reservation system. In an 1873 report recommending the creation of reservations for Southwestern Indians who had given up fighting against white settlement, John Wesley Powell and G.W. Ingalls elaborated:

The commission does not consider that a reservation should be looked upon in the light of a pen where a horde of savages are to be fed with flour and beef, to be supplied with blankets from the government bounty, and to be furnished with paint and gew-gaws by the greed of traders, but that a reservation should be a school of industry and a home for these unfortunate people. In council with the Indians great care was taken not to implant in their minds the idea that the Government was willing to pay them for yielding lands which white men needed, and that as a recompense for such lands they would be furnished with clothing and food, and thus enabled to live in idleness. The question was presented to the Indian something in this light: The white men take these lands and use them, and from the earth secure to themselves food, clothing, and many other desirable things. Why should not the Indians do the same? The Government of the United States is anxious for you to try.

(COVER) Music director Pierre Monteux and soloist Margaret Speaks share refreshments backstage at the San Francisco Symphony, March 26, 1946.

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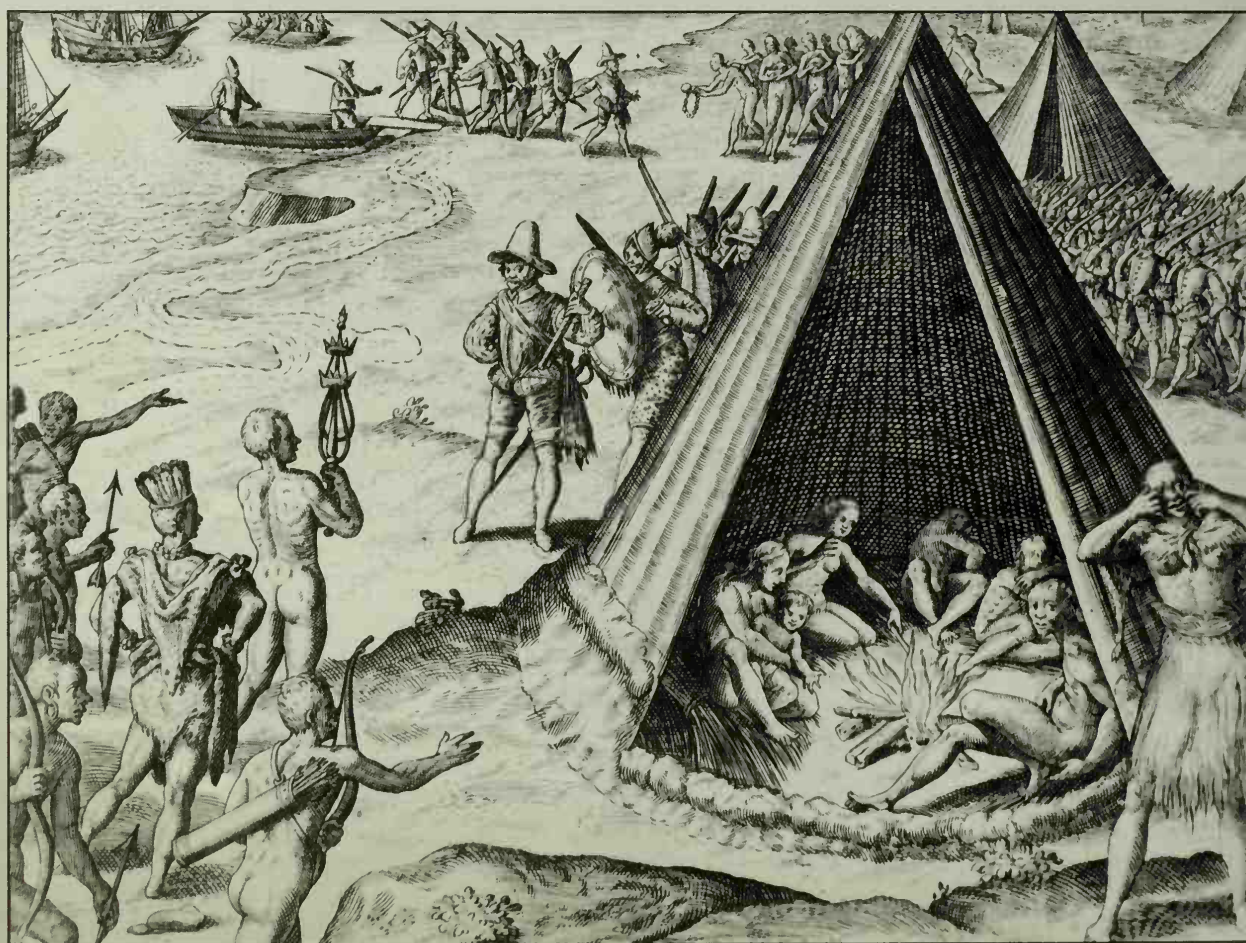
California Checklist

AN EXCEPTIONAL ADAPTATION

CAMILLO YNITIA

THE LAST HEADMAN OF THE OLOMPALIS

by Pamela McGuire Carlson and E. Breck Parkman



The Spanish who arrived in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late eighteenth century found the Coast Miwok village of Olompali to be an important and thriving center of activity. In a small valley near the mouth of the Petaluma River, this aboriginal village had been continuously occupied for almost 600 years when the Spanish first saw it in 1776.¹ Remarkably, Olompali continued to hold together as a cohesive Indian enclave until well into the nineteenth century—in marked contrast to neighboring villages which were eradicated by the missionization process and, after 1835, by Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's extremely effective system of pitting various native tribes against each other.

True, Olompali did not escape the zealotry of the Franciscans; between 1814 and 1822, more than 250 Olompalis were baptized at Bay Area missions. Nevertheless, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century Olompali was noted over and over again by European and American observers as a viable Indian community.

Olompali's remarkable longevity is due in large part to its last headman, Camillo Ynitia, who was able not only to survive but to prosper in an alien environment. Camillo appears unique among northern California Native Americans. Not only did he maintain lasting and

extremely friendly relations with Vallejo, the military commander and virtual overlord of the northern frontier after 1835, without having to risk his life in Vallejo's numerous military campaigns against other tribes, but he succeeded in 1843 in getting the Mexican government to grant him official title to Rancho Olompali, an 8,000-acre spread of land which included his village and ranch.

Camillo lived in an adobe he had constructed himself, ran five to six hundred head of cattle, planted an extensive orchard and vineyard, and raised wheat to sell to the local non-Indians, occasionally even to the Russians at Fort Ross. His adobe was a popular stopping place for Mexican Californians, Europeans, and Americans who travelled the main trade route between San Francisco and Sonoma, and he was regarded by all who mentioned him as affable, intelligent, and shrewd.

Soon after Camillo's death in 1856, his daughters—both of whom had married Americans—purchased a ranch in Mendocino County, and the village of Olompali disappeared. Most of the Indian inhabitants appear to have moved north with Camillo's daughters. The remains of Camillo's adobe survive today encased in two later Yankee additions—a wood-frame clapboard house constructed around the original adobe in the late 1860s and a two-story stucco mansion which enclosed it in 1911. A 1969 fire exposed the earlier wood-frame building and Camillo's adobe.

Two hundred feet southwest of these ruins, the faint outlines of the aboriginal Olompali village dance house can still be traced in the earth by a careful observer.

Little is known about Olompali before the arrival of the Spanish in 1776. So complete was the extermination of the Coast Miwok that few individuals remain who can trace their Coast Miwok ancestry. Robert Thomas, Camillo's great-great-grandson, survives to tell his tale.² Dr. Thomas has preserved an oral history of the Ynitia family which provides a few glimpses of aboriginal Olompali. Other, less personal, insights have come from the extensive archeological investigations conducted at Olompali.³

The earliest written account of the Coast Miwok probably was the journal of Francis Fletcher, a sailor who accompanied Francis Drake in his 1579 visit to northern California. Though the identity of his landing place is still hotly debated, Drake probably put ashore in the Point Reyes vicinity or in the northern part of San Francisco Bay.⁴ The local Native Americans were greatly aroused by the arrival of the English sailors, and Fletcher provides a wonderful account of their astonishment:

"The next day after our coming to anchor . . . the people of the country shewed themselves; sending off a man with great expedition to us in a canoe . . .

"The 3. day following . . . they came down unto us: standing when they drew neere, as men revished in their mindes, with sight of such things as they never had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship us as Gods, then to have any warre with us as mortal

(Left) An artist's vision of the welcome of Francis Drake by Coast Miwok Indians in 1579, from an engraving by Theodor de Bry in 1599.

(Detail, above) Olompali dancer painted by Louis Choris at Mission San Francisco de Asis ca. 1816.

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men . . . Notwithstanding nothing could persuade them, nor remove the opinion, which they had conceived of us, that we should be Gods . . ."⁵

Though Fletcher felt he was being worshipped as a god, it is quite possible that the Coast Miwok were overwhelmed by what they perceived as the return of dead ancestors. Fletcher reported that the Indians became so frenzied upon Drake's arrival that they tore the flesh from their cheeks.⁶ He could not know it, but this custom was an integral part of the mourning ceremonies practiced by the Coast Miwok and perhaps accounts for the Indians' extreme behavior.⁷

There is even more for speculation. In stark contrast to the arguments which place Drake's landing at Point Reyes or at Point San Quentin, Dr. Thomas believes that Drake landed about one-half mile south of Olompali on the shore of the former bay of Chokolom, which has since been filled in.⁸ In the 1970s, an Elizabethan sixpence minted in the Tower of London and dated 1567 was reportedly recovered from the Olompali village site.⁹ Charles Slaymaker, the archeologist responsible for the find, contends the coin ". . . was discovered in irrefutable context with a 50 × 30-foot structure dated at 1600 A.D."¹⁰ Two white paste trade beads of a type traded by the English during the Elizabethan period¹¹ also turned up in the same site, and these finds have generated

some argument in favor of Drake's appearance at Olompali. It is pure speculation, of course. Proponents of differing views continue to argue the exact location of Drake's landing as they do the archeological authenticity of the sixpence and paste beads. One fact is certain, though. Archeological excavations over the years have revealed that Olompali was one of the most important of all Coast Miwok villages—a center of economic and social activity.

After Drake's visit, the Coast Miwok enjoyed almost two centuries without European contact. Then in 1775 José Cañizares, acting on behalf of Captain Juan Bautista de Ayala of the *San Carlos*, surveyed the bay between August 5 and September 18. Between August 15 and September 1, Cañizares explored San Pablo Bay and the Carquinez Strait. On September 7, he drew his "Plano del Puerto de San Francisco," the first recorded map of San Francisco Bay.¹²

A year later the *San Carlos* returned, and Fernando Quiros, José Cañizares, and Pedro Cambon spent just over one day exploring what is now the Petaluma River. During this trek, the Spaniards encountered the Olompalis.¹³ Late nineteenth-century historian J.P. Munro-Fraser paints an idyllic picture of this encounter which would be pleasant to believe but is impossible considering the explorer's intentions and the brevity of their visit. According to Munro-Fraser, the Spanish exploring party received an extraordinarily

warm welcome from the Olompali villagers. Overcome by this warmth, the Spaniards taught the Olompalis how to make adobe bricks. Moreover, they built an adobe house for the village chief whom Munro-Fraser supposed was Camillo's father.¹⁴ The tale is far nicer than the fact that a north bay headman, who was to become known as Chief Marin, successfully prevented any European settlement in Marin until 1817, when he was captured and incarcerated in San Francisco. Marin quickly repented of his bellicose ways, convinced the Franciscans of his conversion, was given more freedom, escaped, and made his way back to the north bay.¹⁵

Although Mission San Rafael was founded in 1817, it was far from secure from native attack. In 1824, during a period of general native unrest throughout California, Marin and his lieutenant Pompiano led an attack on the mission. They were captured and Pompiano was executed. Chief Marin, perhaps discouraged by Pompiano's death, apparently repented permanently this time. He was allowed to return to the north bay where he spent his remaining days as a seemingly docile mission Indian.¹⁶

Even though Native Americans like Marin succeeded in troubling the missionization process—making penetration of the northern peninsula wilderness an uncertain venture—the push for converts became increasingly energetic as death, disease, and the increasing problem of runaway neophytes took their toll on the Bay Area mission populations. In 1814, Olompali villagers were taken to Bay Area missions for the first time. Between 1814 and

Pamela McGuire Carlson is a historian and E. Breck Parkman is an archeologist in the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Both have worked on the Olompali site.



Bay Area Indians painted by Louis Choris at Mission San Francisco de Asis ca. 1816. The man at the lower right is from Olompali.

1816, at least 23 Olompalis were baptized at Mission San Francisco de Asis. The French artist Louis Choris, visiting the San Francisco mission in 1816, sketched and painted numerous Indian neophytes. The padres recognized Telemele, one of the Indians who was baptized at San Francisco, as the "captain de los Olompales."¹⁷ Perhaps he was one of the 500 Indians transferred from San Francisco to San Rafael in 1823 to help construct the Mission San Rafael Arcángel, and perhaps he got back to Olompali when this labor force was released soon after construction was completed. Camillo was seven years old at the time.

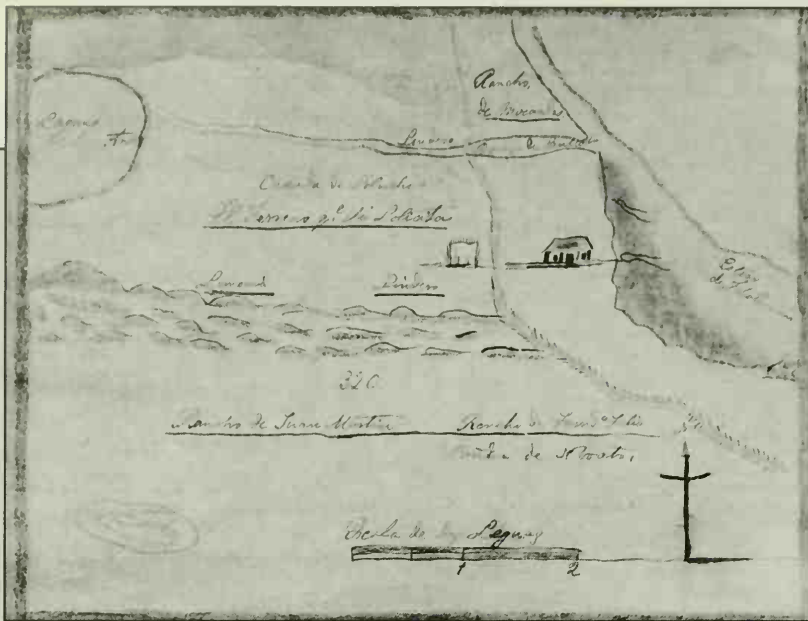
At any rate, the bulk of the Olompali population was baptized at Mission San José de Guadalupe between 1816 and 1818. The mission records there reveal the names of at least 226 Olompalis among the mission baptisms.¹⁸ By the time the nearby Mission San Rafael Arcángel was founded in 1817 few Olompalis were still available for conversion, most

having been taken to the other two missions. Only 10 Olompalis were baptized at San Rafael between 1818 and 1822. In all, at least 259 Olompalis were baptized at Bay Area missions between the years 1814 and 1822, and yet the village survived, probably as a mission rancheria. Surrounding villages were not as fortunate, and Olompali's survival was probably the result of a unique set of circumstances: the village was close enough to the new mission to serve as a rancheria run by "Christianized" Indians who, after secularization, stayed on at Olompali as liberated Christians. At least the early nineteenth-century travel literature suggests this interpretation.

After 1817 the name Olompali appears frequently in various memoirs and notes. Franciscan President Mariano Payeras viewed "the valley of the Olompalis" from the top of a hill near the mission when he visited the new San Rafael outpost in May 1818.¹⁹ Padre Blas Ordaz, chronicler for a military expedition under Cap-

tain Luis Arguello, mentions camping at Olompali on November 11, 1821. Padre Jose Altamira passed through Olompali on June 26 and again on July 4, 1823 on his expedition to determine the site for the Sonoma mission.²⁰ Clearly, Olompali was not a threat to the Europeans.

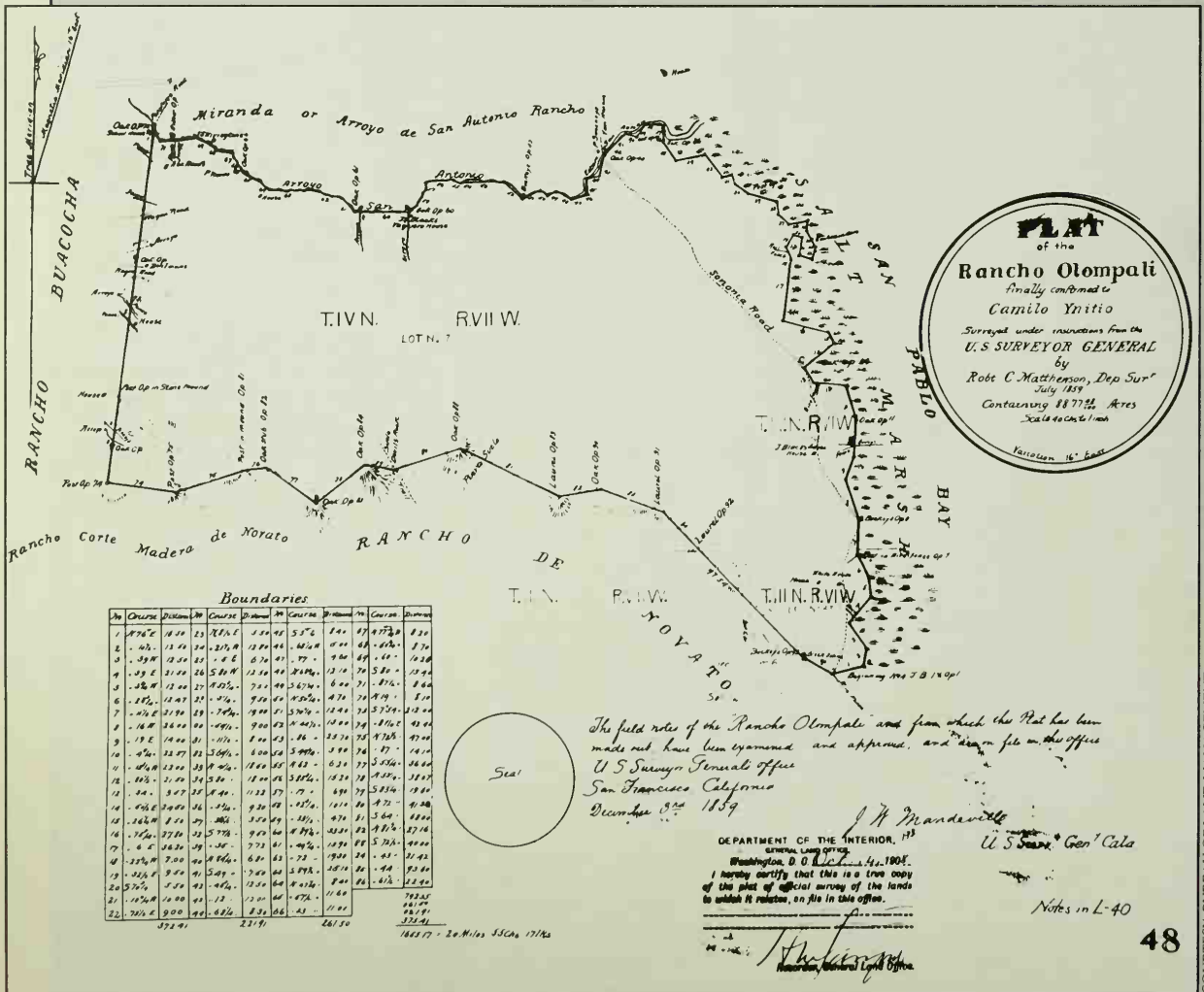
After 1823, regular trade was conducted with the Sonoma mission and pueblo, and El Camino Real—the transportation route which passed through Olompali—was firmly established. The first adobe, contrary to Munro-Fraser's later-nineteenth-century story, was probably constructed in this period. In 1823, about 500 Indians were transferred from San Francisco to San Rafael with the promise that they could return to their villages at any



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Map of Rancho Olompali Diseno as used in Land Case 10 N.D.

U.S. patent map drawn for Rancho Olompali in 1859.



COURTESY, BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT



time after they had helped finish the construction of the mission.²¹ That task completed by April 1824, some of these workers must have filtered back to Olompali, for in 1828 Father Juan Amorós, founder of the San Rafael Mission, described an interesting arrangement:

*"From the mission San Rafael, toward the north is . . . the rancheria of Olompali, or Santísima Rosario, where there is a little house; their Captain is a Christian and raises food with the help of the mission."*²²

Camillo Ynitia, born in 1816, was only twelve at the time, too young to be the "Captain" Amorós referred to, but by 1841 when world-traveller Duflot de Mofras observed the "Rancho de Indio, a farm run by a few liberated Indians,"²³ Camillo was in charge.

Camillo's exact origins and his early mission experiences are unrecorded. But his ability to prosper in an alien culture is not. Surviving members of the Ynitia family believe that Camillo was born at Olompali. Other sources suggest that he may not even have been an Olompali but may have come from the Wappo village of Caymus, which was near Yountville in what is now Napa County.²⁴ It is known, however, that Camillo was born in 1816 and was at one time a neophyte.²⁵ No one knows when or where he was missionized nor when he married Cayetana, Chief Marin's daughter. He never learned to write, but it is clear that he knew how to run a profitable ranch and maintain long-lasting relationships with the most unlikely partners.

Nineteenth-century memoirs which mention him are unanimous in their

esteem for Camillo. William Hartnell, California merchant and ranchero owner, described Camillo as "a good worker and a good person."²⁶ William Heath Davis enthusiastically remembered Camillo in his recollections of California:

*"I knew this chief, who was a fine, intelligent and shrewd man. He often came over to San Francisco to purchase goods from Nathan Spear, whose agent I then was. He owned 600 cattle, numerous horses and sheep, and was quite a noted breeder. He was punctual in meeting his obligations, and owing to this and to his affability and intelligence, was highly esteemed by us all . . . He was likewise a wheat raiser, and sold his crops to the Russians."*²⁷

Camillo may have gained control of Olompali as early as 1834—when he was only eighteen—the same year Mariano Vallejo arrived in the north bay region. William Hartnell vouched for Camillo, stating that Ynitia had ". . . peacefully occupied Olompali since 1834" until the Mirandas intruded, putting a corral on his land.²⁸

William Heath Davis, though lavish in his praise for Camillo, saw a less peaceful intent in Camillo's arrival, contending that he was a Wappo Indian sent by Vallejo to Olompali in 1834 to help protect Vallejo's burgeoning north-bay empire.²⁹

It was no coincidence that Mariano Vallejo arrived in the north bay just as the mission system was being secularized. He had planned his arrival as military commander of the north-

ern frontier for some time. An ardent student of Roman history, Vallejo saw himself as "a tamer of wild beasts" and yearned to put his belief in the Roman policy of "divide and conquer" to the test.³⁰ He found the north bay a perfect arena for his ambition. No other individual European had established a stronghold there, and frontier conditions on the northern fringe justified his military zeal. In 1834, he secularized Mission San Francisco Solano (at what is now Sonoma), appropriating what livestock and goods he wanted for himself. He founded Sonoma in 1835, and by 1836, under the guise of maintaining peace in the region, he had managed to persuade seven nearby tribes to unite themselves with him against their traditional enemies.³¹ Chief Solano, an enormously strong and impressive leader of a large Patwin contingent—known as "Stone Hands" among his own people—became Vallejo's chief Indian ally.³²

Vallejo himself acknowledged over and over again his disdain for the Franciscan Order; and the north bay Indians were useful to him only so long as he could exploit the divisions among them. In this manner, the Native Americans would eventually destroy themselves. Vallejo played for time. After 1835, he worked hard to see that the former north bay mission lands were divided into a series of ranches granted to Mexican Californians and other immigrants beholden to him.

Although Vallejo could not escape the Mexican governor's 1835 order to give the San Rafael neophytes the mission lands of their choice, he did in the long run succeed in ruining their claims. Under Nicasio Indian



Teodosio Quilaguegui's leadership, these neophytes indicated that they were interested in returning to aboriginal Nicasio territory—a large and beautiful inland valley in the northern peninsula. Vallejo conveyed both title and mission property to the neophytes but neglected to file a formal petition for the land grant in Monterey.

Two years later, under the pretense that the Indians were not making good use of their property, Vallejo took it back. In 1839, these much-grieved Native Americans appealed directly to Mexican Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado. Informed that they could rely upon Vallejo's protection, they threatened open rebellion. Vallejo bought more time by regranteeing them a piece of Nicasio already theirs, and providing them with some cattle.³³

By 1843, most of the north bay had been claimed by a handful of Mexican Californians and recent European and American immigrants who became Mexican citizens in order to acquire title. Pablo de la Guerra and John B.R. Cooper, sensing that time was running out, filed a formal petition for Rancho Nicasio that same year. They received the title to it in 1844.³⁴ Although the Nicasio Indians were allowed to remain on the land, they were now dispossessed, a fact which did not seem to discourage either Vallejo or the Mexican government.

Camillo Ynitia, in contrast, received Vallejo's full cooperation. In 1843, the same year the Nicasio Indians were disinherited, Vallejo travelled to Monterey to present Camillo's petition for title to Rancho Olompali to the proper officials. Vallejo, who most assuredly drew up

the documents for Camillo, claimed that Camillo had been in possession of Olompali for six years, since 1837, that "he had built a house there and planted an orchard and vineyard and has the place stocked with cattle and horses."³⁵ Camillo got his land grant and held on to it until he chose to sell, the only northern California Native American whose title was later confirmed by the U.S. Land Commission.

It would be easy to conclude that Camillo prospered because he cooperated with Vallejo in controlling the local Native Americans, as well he may have done. But Camillo's success appears to have been based on an extraordinary ability to manage his own affairs, allying himself with Mexican Californians, Europeans, and Americans alike. Though he lived only forty years, when he died his financial affairs were in order and his family was provided for with a will.

That he operated a thriving ranching operation is attested to over and over again. Jacob P. Leese, Salvador Vallejo's brother-in-law, testified that Camillo traded with him and that he himself had frequently been at Camillo's place. "His house was on a public highway, El Camino Real, and it was my usual stopping place when on business in that part of the country."³⁶

It was the stopping place, too, for a force of retreating Californios during the Bear Flag Rebellion in 1846. Lieutenant Henry L. Ford's

Yankees surprised Captain Joaquin de la Torre and Juan Padilla's troops while they were enjoying breakfast in Camillo's adobe.³⁷ With the Mexican troops routed, Camillo managed to absolve himself of any connection with the Californios and apparently outwitted John C. Frémont several days later as well.

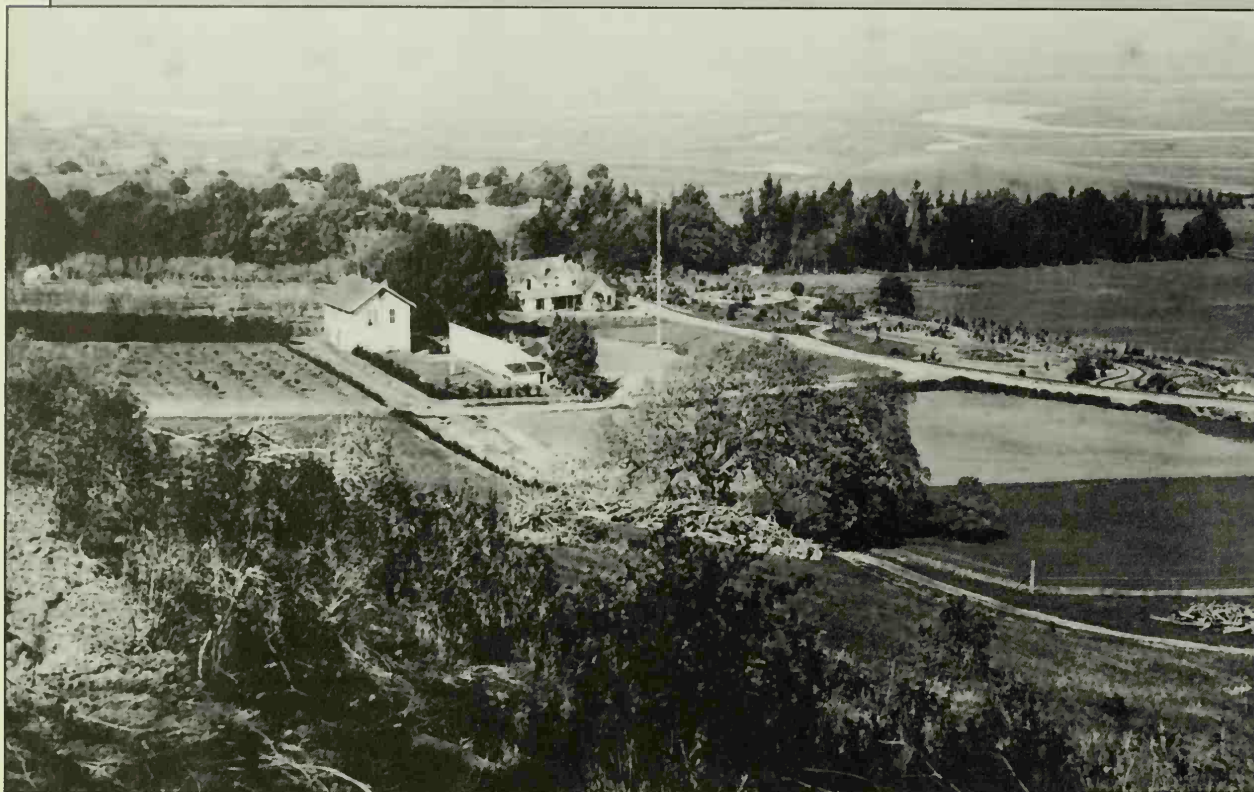
Don Pedro Pacheco, in recounting Frémont's participation in the Bear Flag Rebellion some forty years after the event, recalled "... But there was one man who succeeded in keeping Frémont from stealing his cattle and that was Carillo [*sic*] whose ranch was where the Burdells live now. Carillo drove all his stock away, leaving behind only a couple of old oxen. When Frémont came up as usual he demanded all the cattle ... " Camillo successfully convinced him that he had only the two old oxen. Frémont insisted that they be slaughtered for his men's dinner, and so they were. There is no reason to doubt Pacheco's memory.³⁸

During the last years of his life, Camillo proved himself eminently capable of managing his environment. On January 5, 1852, he married his second wife Susana Maria, "a 12 or 13 years Indian," who became stepmother to his two daughters, ten-year-old Maxima Antonia and six-year-old Maria Antonia.³⁹ Cayetana, his first wife, had died when she was thrown from a horse.

That same year, Camillo allied himself with Joseph Knox, a Harvard graduate turned Marin County settler. Knox proved very useful. Elected Marin County Justice of the Peace and Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions, he helped Camillo in legal matters, prepared Camillo's will in 1855, and subsequently mar-



*Maxima Antonia (left) and Maria Antonia (right),
daughters of Camillo Ynitia, ca. 1860.*



COURTESY CHARMINE BURDELL COLLECTION

ried Maria Antonia, Camillo's youngest daughter.⁴⁰ Her older sister, Maxima Antonia, had married Henry Bennett, an American, in 1854, almost certainly with Camillo's encouragement.⁴¹

A little more than a month after his second marriage, Camillo filed his case for Rancho Olompali with the U.S. Land Commission. On August 30, perhaps concerned with the outcome of the case, he sold the major portion of Rancho Olompali to James Black, Marin County Assessor, for \$5,200 gold coin.⁴² There was no need for concern, however. His patent was confirmed on December 18, 1852.

Whatever his reason for selling, Camillo made sure to retain the southeast portion of Rancho Olompali, referred to as Apalacocha in

later transactions, for his own use. There is real confusion as to whether Camillo retained the adobe and village site in this land deal; various documents present conflicting interpretations. The acreage is not specified in the 1852 transaction, nor in fact in any recorded Olompali deed transaction until 1875, when the District Court of the Seventh Judicial District issued its Decree of Final Partition on July 8 in the James Black will case in San Francisco. That decree specified for the first time that Apalacocha was a 632-acre parcel well below the adobe and village site.

One fact is clear, however. Perhaps sensing that he was going to die soon, Camillo made legal provisions for his family. In the first of these moves, on February 14, 1853, he conveyed approximately 20 acres

By 1875, when this photograph was taken, Galen Burdell had planted an orchard (left) on the Olompali village site. Burdell's wife, Mary Black, had received Rancho Olompali as a wedding gift in 1865.

in the extreme southeast corner of Apalacocha to John Pingston, husband of Camillo's adopted daughter and "a free man of color." Pingston was given the land in trust for Camillo's grandson, Juan José Pingston, who had been born several years earlier.

The racism that Camillo had managed to escape fell hard on John Pingston. Listed in the 1860 census as a "farmer" with real estate valued at \$1,000, ten years later he was listed as a "farm laborer." His name then disappeared from the books. An 1887 article in the *Marin Journal* made one last reference to Pingston,



implying that, at one point, he had claimed swamp and overflow lands and that he had been forced to move:

*"The post-office at Black Point should be changed to Novato, to avoid confusion and expedite the delivery of mail. Black Point took its name from a Negro who once resided there and claimed a large amount of the public domain. After he was forced to move, his new location was called Nigger Hill."*⁴³

Camillo had Joseph Knox prepare his will on September 23, 1855; it was recorded on January 5, 1856. In it the \$910 still owed by James Black on the 1852 Rancho Olompali transaction was left to Camillo's wife Susannah. To his son-in-law Henry Holden Bennett, Camillo left "... the ranch upon which I now reside ... known by the name of Apalacochoa ... not to be sold by him without consent of his wife my daughter Maxima ... that he shall keep and maintain my second daughter Maria Antonia ... and aged Sister Velina."⁴⁴

Camillo distributed his livestock to his daughters, wife, and nephew Besidini.

A few months later, Camillo died. The cause of his death is as mysterious as his origins. Stories have circulated down through the years that Camillo buried his gold and forgot to tell his wife and daughters where it was hidden, and that he had been forewarned of his death when he had his will prepared.⁴⁵

Perhaps, as the Ynitia family oral history maintains, Camillo awakened one night to check on a sheep tethered outside his adobe and was murdered by a hidden assassin. According to this account Camillo was buried in a quiet ceremony near his adobe and within sight of the spot where he had earlier buried his friend Chief Solano.⁴⁶ It is not clear, however, that Camillo and his family even continued to live in the adobe after the 1852 land transaction. Perhaps Camillo died a natural death. No official record has been found.

What does remain is a glimpse—pieced together from various sources—of a singular achievement. Camillo

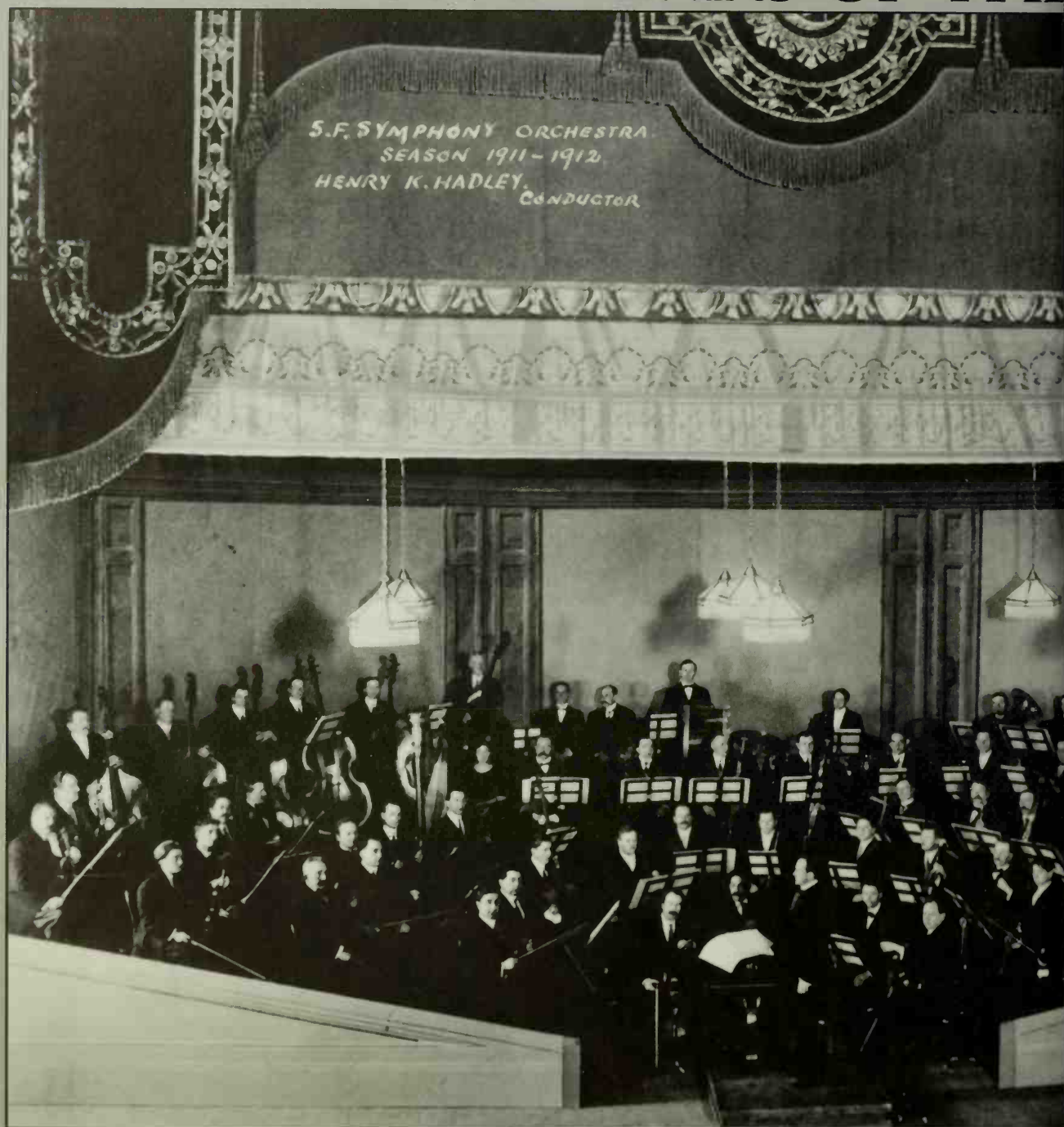
Rancho Olompali looking west, ca. 1875. Camillo's adobe and the Olompali village site are among the trees at left center. The dirt road in the foreground has been replaced by U.S. Highway 101. El Camino Real was just west of this road.

Ynitia operated independently and prospered in a time and place that had little room for Native American success.

Soon after Camillo's death, his daughters, in partnership with Joseph Knox and Henry Willard, whom Maxima Antonia had married after her first husband's death in 1856, purchased part of Rancho de Sanel in Mendocino County and moved north.⁴⁷ Several years later, the Ynitia family relinquished their last claim to Olompali. On November 26, 1860, "Being in want of money for a Maintenance," Maxima and Maria sold Apalacochoa, which they stated contained "about 500 Acres of nearly all mountain land," to John Knight, their Mendocino attorney, for \$3,693.⁴⁸ With that transaction, the last of aboriginal Olompali passed into American ownership. □

See notes on pages 309–310.

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE



SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY



SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY

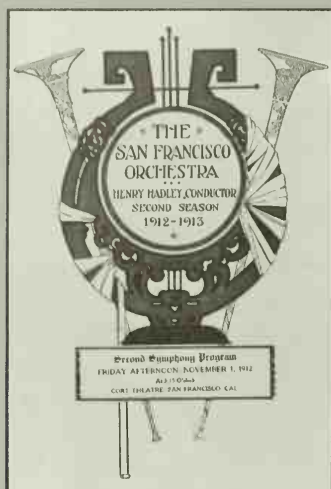
The San Francisco Symphony was born in December, 1909, when three men—T.B. Berry, a real estate developer in Berkeley and San Francisco's warehouse district, John Rothschild, an import-exporter, and E.S. Heller, the senior partner in the law firm Heller, Powers & Ehrman¹—sent out a letter requesting the recipients' "presence as one of the Governing Board of twenty-five for the organization and establishment of Symphony Concerts in San Francisco."² Twenty-one men responded and on December 20, 1909, organized the Musical Association of San Francisco, an independent California corporation, which would sponsor the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra.³ This push to create an orchestra bearing the city's name was in large part a continuation of the rebuilding process that had begun after the great earthquake and subsequent fire of 1906. Slowly but determinedly San Francisco had risen from its ashes, first rebuilding homes and places of business, next the city government, and finally the city's cultural life. Walter Damrosch's visit with his New York Symphony in 1908 gave the citizens of San Francisco the final incentive they needed.

In order to finance its enterprise, the new Musical Association followed the pattern then current in the management of large cultural institutions: it sought to recruit 300 guarantors who would pledge \$100 per year for the next five years. By March 7, 1910, the association's secretary announced that he had sent out 1,200 copies of a prospectus soliciting subscriptions to the guaran-

tors' fund and that he had already received 58 signed acceptances.⁴ By August 18, 1911, the chairman of the Finance Committee reported 205 guarantors and declared that the association was in a position to "go ahead."⁵

The next tasks were to hire a conductor and establish the orchestra itself. At the August 18 meeting Richard M. Tobin, chairman of the Music Committee, reported that three conductors were being considered: Henry Hadley of the Seattle Symphony, Philip Wolfrum of Heidelberg, and Fritz Stein of Jena.⁶ By October 9, American composer and conductor Henry K. Hadley was engaged at a salary of \$10,000 per season. Hadley, born in Somerville, Massachusetts, was forty years old in 1911. He had received his first instruction in piano and violin from his father, and continued his studies at the New England Conservatory and later at the Vienna Conservatory. By 1911, Hadley had completed three symphonies, numerous tone poems and overtures, as well as several choral works, all composed in the atmospheric, impressionistic vein of many late romantic composers.

The recruiting of the orchestra began in New York, when concertmaster Eduard Tak was engaged at \$100 per week together with a first horn player and a first trumpeter at between \$50 and \$65 a week.⁷ The eventual orchestra (sixty-one for the first season's inaugural concert and sixty-nine for its last) was composed mostly of local musicians, with only two additional exceptions.⁸ In early November, 1910, Hadley began gathering musicians from the café,



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Symphony programs reflect changing times.

(Overleaf) The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra makes its debut on December 8, 1911. In the first years, concerts were held in the afternoon to allow the musicians to attend to their duties as members of hotel and restaurant orchestras.

hotel, and theater orchestras of San Francisco. Such ensembles varied greatly in quality, and Hadley's perseverance in sifting through the qualifications and abilities of applicants for the new orchestra was remarked upon by the association.

Since the San Francisco Symphony orchestra could not supplant but only augment this employment, the association promised never to schedule concerts that would conflict with its players' regular jobs. Only the first violin section and a few of the first chair players in other sections were salaried for the entire season; all others were engaged on a per concert basis.⁹ The Cort Theatre, on Ellis Street between Stockton and Powell, which opened its doors on September 2, 1911, was chosen over the Columbia Theater and the Scottish Rite Hall as the orchestra's home because of the Cort's larger seating capacity (1,827), which included twelve boxes and thirteen loges for the most prominent members of the audience. The theater was hired at a rental rate of \$150 per concert, with a provision for four morning rehearsals.

The first concert of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra presented a program of Richard Wagner's Overture to *Die Meistersinger*; Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6, *Pathétique*; an arrangement of

"Theme and Variations" from Franz Joseph Haydn's *Emperor Quartet*, Op. 76, No. 3; and Franz Liszt's *Les Préludes*. Since the press had promised the Musical Association "to look upon the enterprise with benevolence,"¹⁰ it is difficult now to ascertain the quality of that opening concert. Nevertheless, the *San Francisco Chronicle* the next day proclaimed in a bold headline, "MUSICAL SOCIETY'S CONCERT A SUCCESS. . . Programme Splendidly Rendered." Harvey Wickham's review was rhapsodic in its praise: "The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra was baptized yesterday in the waters of unequivocal success . . . Hadley is one of those conductors who 'do a good deal of leading,' and anticipate every effect in pantomime. He plays upon the orchestra much as a piano virtuoso would play upon the ivories." Thomas Nunan in the *San Francisco Examiner* called the orchestra "superior to any we have had heretofore on the Pacific Coast. It contains the promise of eventually taking rank with the best in the country."¹¹

Hadley remained with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra for four years. As a composer himself, he was fervently interested in the recent developments in music. Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* was not yet twenty years old when the conductor placed it on the orchestra's first program. Hadley opened his second season with Rachmaninov's Symphony No. 2 (then just five years old) and his third season with Ravel's *Mother Goose Suite* (which had been premiered as an orchestral composition only the previous season). But Hadley's love of contemporary music was not shared by all. Alfred Metzger of *The Pacific Coast*

William Huck is a music writer whose work appears in the *Sentinel*, *Opera Quarterly*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, as well as in the program books of various West Coast Companies, including the San Francisco Opera, the Seattle Opera, the San Francisco Symphony, and the San Francisco Ballet.

Musical Review, called Hadley "a fanatic of the ultra modern school"¹² at the beginning of Hadley's second season, and though this characterization hardly seems apt, since Hadley never favored the most modern German composers, nevertheless it does give a hint at the impression Hadley made upon the musical world at the time. Throughout his last two years, Hadley was frequently chastised by the Music Committee for including too many novelties in his programs.¹³


Hadley's contract, which was renewed at the end of the first season for three years, was not renewed at the end of the fourth season.¹⁴ Instead Alfred Hertz became the conductor of the San Francisco Symphony. Hertz had been in charge of the German and American operas at the Metropolitan Opera since 1902. A German by birth, Hertz was trained at the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt and he conducted in several German houses before coming to the United States and joining the Metropolitan. On Christmas Eve, 1903, Hertz had conducted the first staged performance of Wagner's *Parsifal* outside of Bayreuth and against the wishes of Wagner's heirs, who claimed the right to restrict *Parsifal* performances to the theater for which it was written. It is no coincidence that Hertz never again conducted in a German theater.

By 1915, as the Metropolitan Opera became more and more Italian oriented, Hertz's working relationship with it was strained and he was happy to find employment at the San Francisco Symphony, for on the one hand, he could not return to Germany, because of the *Parsifal* affair, and, on the other, the anti-German feeling arising in this country be-

cause of World War I severely limited the number of musical institutions willing to put a German conductor before the public.

Hertz's inaugural concert—Beethoven's *Leonore* Overture No. 3, Brahms's Symphony No. 2, Wagner's *A Faust Overture* and Berlioz's *Roman Carnival Overture*—was called "a harvest day" by the *Chronicle's* reviewer Walter Anthony, "because the work of the four years preceding was gathered by a masterhand and directed to [entirely new] planes of beauty." Redfern Mason of the *Examiner* concurred and named Hertz as "the man responsible for the change."¹⁵ In the spring of 1917 Hertz became an American citizen.

The San Francisco Symphony had been created in the last days of a society whose fabric was forever altered by World War I. The original financial arrangement for the orchestra, in which fewer than 300 guarantors paid more than half of the orchestra's expenses and ticket sales supplied the remainder,¹⁶ gradually became a thing of the past. Perhaps the most obvious sign of the new times was the institution of the income tax in the United States in 1913, which cut into the amount of disposable income available to the guarantors of the San Francisco Symphony. When the 1918–1919 influenza epidemic cancelled five weeks of the symphony season and forced the Musical Association to refund ticket revenue, the delicate financial balance between the contributions of guarantors and income from ticket sales collapsed.¹⁷ The post-war inflation that continued throughout the 1920s further raised



SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

ALFRED HERTZ, Conductor

A. W. WOODWARD, Manager

PROGRAMME

SECOND MUNICIPAL SYMPHONY CONCERT
SEASON 1918-19

SOLIIST
DUSOLINA GIANNINI
Soprano

EXPOSITION AUDITORIUM
TUESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 14, 1919

August: MAURICE JAMES RUTHERFORD, Jr. and BORIS DE NEFFENAY
Director, Auditorium Committee J. EDWARD HENDERSON, Chairman
Victor J. CASPER, Secretary THOMAS F. BULL, in Charge of Ticket Sales and Accounts JOHN COLEMAN



MUSICAL ASSOCIATION
OF SAN FRANCISCO

THE

San Francisco SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

PIERRE MONTEUX, Conductor

TWENTY-EIGHTH SEASON

LUDWIG WAGNER ARSON

WAR MEMORIAL OPERA HOUSE



SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY

Henry Hadley, music director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra from its inception in 1911 until 1914, when the Musical Association decided not to rehire him.

expenses and cut into the resources available to the Musical Association. On the one hand, the wealthy guarantors had less money to give, and on the other, the expenses of the orchestra gradually increased, as, among other factors, the musicians demanded higher salaries. A new musicians' contract in 1920 required the association to raise an extra \$40,000 and forced it to plead for "An Emergency Fund to make possible the season of 1920-1921."¹⁸

The Musical Association responded to this evolving crisis with a variety of stratagems. In May, 1917, a Women's Auxiliary was organized and the association's by-laws were redrafted to add women to the Board of Governors. The 1916-1917 season had closed with a deficit of \$13,500. Upon its creation, the Women's Auxiliary began canvassing the community for new guarantors for the orchestra and in a little more than six months reported that it had secured pledges amounting to \$50,000.¹⁹ Next, the Musical Association backed plans for "an Opera House and Symphony Hall Auditorium, with ample seating capacity," which the association saw as a way of sharing expenses with an opera company and enlarging the revenue from ticket sales. This project eventually became the first municipally owned and operated opera house in the country, the War Memorial Opera House, which opened on October 15, 1932.²⁰ Because of the Musical Association's continuing advocacy of this project, it was the San Francisco Symphony, and not the San Francisco Opera, which became the principal tenant of the War Memorial Opera House.

In addition to this indirect support, the City of San Francisco pre-

sented the orchestra for the first time on November 8, 1922. Later called the Municipal Concerts, these performances enabled the city to help maintain the orchestra without actually contributing to the Musical Association.²¹ By this plan, the city bought a number of concerts (five that first season) from the association and presented them to the people of San Francisco in the gigantic Civic Auditorium at affordable prices.²² These concerts continue today as the Summer Pops Concerts, presented jointly by the San Francisco Symphony Association (the descendant of the Musical Association) and the City of San Francisco.

In the Fall of 1925 the symphony under Alfred Hertz made its first recordings. From then until the end of Hertz's tenure in 1930, the symphony recorded every year. As late as 1946, the association was still reporting annual royalties of \$750 from these recordings.²³ In 1926, Standard Oil of California (now Chevron), in the first corporate donation to an arts organization in America, gave the San Francisco Symphony \$10,000.²⁴ This gift resulted in the symphony's participation in Standard Oil's radio program, "The Standard Hour," which continued to present the San Francisco Symphony in radio broadcasts until the early 1950s. All these striking innovations helped the association finance its orchestra.

While it was establishing these landmark precedents, the association also pushed ahead past the age-old prejudice against women as orchestral musicians. For the 1923-1924 season, Hertz hired Helen Atkinson, a second violinist, who thus became the first woman hired into a major American orchestra other

than as a harpist.²⁵ There was nothing tokenistic about Hertz's promotion of women as orchestral musicians. The next season Atkinson was joined by Mary Pasmore, Eugenia Bem, and Modesta Mortensen in the first violin section; Frances Simonsen in the second violin section; Dorothy Pasmore in the cellos; and Gyula Ormay on piano. Of this first wave of women orchestra members, Mary Pasmore remained with the San Francisco Symphony the longest. Except for a brief absence between 1930 and 1932, Pasmore played first violin until 1957.

As the 1920s progressed the Musical Association became more and more financially strapped, however. In an attempt to create more interest in the symphony's concerts, it was decided to replace Alfred Hertz.²⁶ At first he was succeeded by a sort of dual monarchy, with the English conductor Basil Cameron conducting the first half of the 1930-1931 season and the Russian-born Issay Dobrowen leading the second half. Cameron's work did not impress the Board of Governors of the Musical Association, though he attracted good attendance. However, Dobrowen's conducting immediately demonstrated his abilities, and barely a month after his first concert, he was offered the musical directorship.²⁷ At that time Dobrowen had previous commitments which allowed him to conduct the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra for only half of the next season, and so Cameron was once again asked for half the season. In the three years of his tenure as music director Dobrowen never did take up residence for a full season, because he accepted frequent guest conducting appearances with such ensembles as the New York Phil-



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Richard M. Tobin, chairman of the Musical Association of San Francisco's first Music Committee, with child prodigy Yehudi Menuhin and Menuhin's sisters.



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The War Memorial Opera House was the first municipally owned and operated opera house in the United States. Its construction enabled the symphony, its principal tenant, to perform nearly year-round.

harmonic and the Philadelphia Orchestra.

The new arrangement did not spark greater interest in symphony concerts, but rather the reverse. As the depression continued to make money tight for everyone, both ticket sales and contributions declined. After several years of economic uncertainty, the Musical Association was forced to abandon its plan for a twelve-week concert season in the spring of 1935. Of the \$71,000 needed to underwrite such a season, the association explained, only \$44,000 had been secured.²⁸ Many at the time thought that the orchestra would be disbanded for years,²⁹ but J. Emmett Hayden, chairman of the city's Art Commission, formulated an amendment to the city charter which would establish a property tax of one-half percent for the purpose of maintaining a symphony orchestra.³⁰ On May 2, 1935, voters overwhelmingly passed this amendment, and the association estimated that the new tax could provide \$40,000—a full \$13,000 more than the deficit that had forced the recent cancellation.

In the subsequent revival of the Musical Association, Mrs. Leonora Wood Armsby, a wealthy, musically-trained Hillsborough matron, took over the orchestra's administration, first as the managing director in 1935, and then as president and managing director in 1936. She would keep these positions until 1953.³¹ The first question facing the newly revived association was finding a new music director. (Issay Dobrowen had returned to Europe to base his career in Sweden.) That summer Pierre Monteux was conducting in Los Angeles at the Hollywood Bowl and was just then with-

out a permanent position. When the San Francisco orchestra travelled to the San Diego American Exposition in late July or early August, the conductor auditioned many of the first chair players and declared himself satisfied. Then Mrs. Armsby, armed with \$12,000 and the potential proceeds from the new tax, offered Monteux the music directorship. As Mrs. Armsby remembered her conversation with Monteux, it was the tax that sparked the conductor's interest: "That is very fine," he responded, "and makes me think very highly of your community. Evidently your public likes fine music. . . . No, don't worry about the twelve thousand dollars; we will get more as we give people something to be proud of. The musical world will, before long, have something to say about the astonishing recovery of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra."³²

Monteux brought to San Francisco flamboyance, color, and French music. He also brought a reputation worthy of the man whom Diaghilev had entrusted with the world premieres of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*, Debussy's *Jeux*, and Stravinsky's *Petrushka* and *Le Sacre du printemps*. Monteux was sixty when he took over the San Francisco Symphony, and ever since the fabled days just before World War I, when he was the conductor for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, he had been a part of his culture's highest intellectual circles. Yet, as his portraits and music-making show, he never lost his *joie de vivre*. When he first arrived in San Francisco, Monteux set forth his objectives: "To restore the San Francisco Orchestra to its former place among American ensembles, to give the public the best of the classics and

a suitable allotment of modern compositions [and] to enjoy it all as I go along."³³

In Monteux's seventeen years with the symphony, the conductor managed to realize all these objectives. His repertoire was varied, including Brahms (his favorite symphony composer),³⁴ Beethoven, Strauss, and the traditional German school, together with Ravel, Debussy, Franck, Berlioz, and the turn-of-the-century Russian composers. Nor was it only the classic and romantic composers who attracted Monteux. Stravinsky was a close friend and a composer whose music the conductor believed would last.³⁵ To honor Jean Sibelius's seventy-fifth birthday, Monteux organized a Sibelius Festival in 1940. In 1947, Monteux gave the world premiere of Roger Sessions's Symphony No. 2. Throughout Monteux's tenure the San Francisco Symphony frequently played the music of Darius Milhaud, who was in residence at Mills College in Oakland and who often appeared with the orchestra. The living and active international composer whose music the symphony played most often during the forties was Dimitri Shostakovich.³⁶ Monteux also encouraged composers within the orchestra, and often programmed their music.³⁷

The Student Forum, created in 1939, was, Monteux thought, "perhaps the most outstanding effort of my seventeen years in San Francisco."³⁸ This brainchild of San Francisco Symphony manager Howard K. Skinner and University of California, Berkeley student Philip S. Boone began when, upon Skinner's initiative, Boone sold eleven boxes for the Saturday night symphony performances to various fraternities



Music director Pierre Monteux and his wife preparing for the Symphony's U.S. tour in 1947.



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San Francisco favorite Luisa Tetrazzini, shown here at the 1912 dedication of the Tetrazzini Memorial Bronze, sang for a benefit concert at the end of the first symphony season. The proceeds enabled the San Francisco Symphony to purchase a music library worth more than four thousand dollars. This resource freed the orchestra from the burden of paying rent for scores used in its concerts.

and sororities on the Berkeley campus. The forum's activities soon included discussions of upcoming programs at which symphony celebrities made guest appearances. The forum quickly spread to other campuses as well. By the 1940-41 season, all but two boxes on Saturday night were held by university students from Berkeley, Stanford, and Mills. By 1945 the demand for student tickets was so great that the symphony inaugurated a Thursday night series principally for students. Not the least of the Student Forum's accomplishments was the training of the next generation of leaders of the association, including Boone, who would serve as symphony president from 1963 to 1972, Lawrence Metcalf, who would serve in the same post from 1974 to 1980, James Schwabacher, who has been a member of the Board of Governors since 1959, and many others.

After the Second World War, Monteux wanted to show all America what he had accomplished in San Francisco. Using a grant from Standard Oil of California, Monteux took the orchestra on an unprecedented transcontinental tour. Other orchestras had travelled farther, but none had ever played so many concerts in so many different places. Travelling by night in a private train, the orchestra played fifty-six concerts in that many days in fifty-three cities across the United States and Canada.³⁹ Monteux and the orchestra won the hearts of music-lovers and critics everywhere. In Chicago's Orchestra Hall, the audience would not let the musicians retire for the intermission break after their performance of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* suite. After their Carnegie Hall debut, the *Journal American* pro-

claimed: "Out of the West came Pierre Monteux and his San Francisco Symphony. . . . They came, they played, they conquered."⁴⁰

Monteux wanted to resign soon after the 1947 tour to take up a globe-trotting international career, but Leonora Wood Armsby begged the conductor to remain until her retirement, which she planned in a few years. Monteux could not refuse Mrs. Armsby and he agreed to stay through the 1951-1952 season.⁴¹ When Monteux finally left San Francisco and then Mrs. Armsby retired at the end of the 1952-1953 season, the last leaders who had grown to maturity before the First World War and who represented the society that had created the San Francisco Symphony were gone. Mrs. Armsby had been in ill health for at least the last three years of her tenure as president of the Musical Association, and since the late 1940s J.D. Zellerbach, who succeeded her as president, had been in charge of the symphony's financial affairs.⁴² Together with Philip Boone, Zellerbach was the principal architect of the financial base upon which today's orchestra stands.

In 1956, when Zellerbach temporarily relinquished the presidency of the San Francisco Symphony Association⁴³ in order to serve as the United States ambassador to Italy, he explained that he had in the early fifties created a Corporate Gifts Committee of the Association and that he had also begun negotiations with the Ford Foundation which was then contemplating arts patronage.⁴⁴ During the 1960s and 1970s, both these sources of financial contributions be-

came ever more important. In 1957, the Ford Foundation was just beginning to consider arts work.⁴⁵ It was not until 1966 when it announced a massive plan to distribute \$85 million to symphony orchestras around the country, that Zellerbach's 1956 negotiation bore fruit. The San Francisco Symphony received \$2 million, which it had to match by raising \$3 million in five years. Though this grant was only one part of a much larger change in the way the symphony was financed, it can serve as a symbol for the whole process. The Ford Foundation grant and the funding drive to meet it, which in the end raised \$5 million, or \$2 million over the required amount, transformed the scale on which the San Francisco Symphony could operate and helped turn the orchestra into a modern arts organization.⁴⁶

Philip Boone's contribution to the new financial base upon which the symphony could draw was the creation in 1953 of the San Francisco Symphony Foundation, which was dedicated to broadening support for the orchestra. Large annual donations by a few extremely wealthy families were becoming a thing of the past, so the San Francisco Symphony Foundation turned to larger numbers of small donors instead. In its first annual drive the foundation garnered a membership of 6,500 persons, who, each giving less than \$8 apiece, contributed \$48,500 to the symphony.⁴⁷ In addition, during Boone's presidency the association received the 1966 Ford Foundation grant, and Boone engineered the funding drive to match it.

In order to replace Pierre Monteux as the symphony's music director, the Musical Association took two years to select Enrique Jordá out of



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Pianist Artur Rubenstein was just one of a long series of celebrities who have played with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra since its inception.



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Student Forums initiated in the 1940s had brought Bay Area university students to the War Memorial Opera House to hear the orchestra perform. In the 1960s the musicians began taking their music to pupils in San Francisco public schools.

a field that included Leopold Stokowski, Karl Münchinger, William Steinberg and Georg Solti.⁴⁸ If the task of choosing a successor to Monteux was difficult, the task of being Monteux's successor was well-nigh impossible. Jordá brought to his new position the charm of a gracious Spanish gentleman and a deep commitment to the music of his time. In 1954, the local critics enthusiastically supported his appointment,⁴⁹ and at first all hoped that Jordá would grow in his new job.

But he did not. By the end of Jordá's tenure, the discipline within the orchestra, which almost uniformly dismissed its conductor as an incompetent,⁵⁰ was so weak that George Szell refused to conduct the second week of his guest contract with the orchestra in 1962.⁵¹ After Szell's position became known to the public, Jordá tendered his resignation, but agreed to remain for the 1962–1963 season while the association found his successor, Josef Krips, who was then conducting the Buffalo Philharmonic. The Jordá fiasco was not entirely the conductor's fault, for Jordá had found himself in the midst of a changing world that neither he nor his employers as yet fully understood. Modern audiences and orchestras seem to want a new conductor every five or seven years. For the next twenty years, for example, the San Francisco Symphony's music directors would repeatedly face diminishing audiences after they had been in the post for about seven years. The public disgrace that Jordá endured was partly the result of the association's lack of planning in this regard. The symphony's administration had throughout the Jordá controversy acted as though Jordá could remain with the

symphony indefinitely as Monteux had, when in fact the administration could have been looking for his successor at the first signs of declining attendance and mounting chagrin within the orchestra.

The second of the new problems was related to the first as the modern conductor was faced with the growing power and self-confidence of the orchestra itself. The age when a music director tyrannized over his orchestra was quickly fading into the past. There is little doubt that the orchestra's condescension to Jordá was musically justified, for especially in the many contemporary compositions Jordá programmed he simply did not have an adequate understanding of the music.⁵² But that was not the whole story. Josef Krips, who could command the orchestra's respect, nevertheless also ran headlong into a battle with the orchestra that would in the end prove his undoing. The modern symphony orchestra which was evolving during these years demanded to be more of a partner with the conductor in its music-making rather than simply being his instrument, as had been the case before. The new situation required an entirely new technique by which the conductor worked with his orchestra.

Krips, born in Vienna in 1902, was one of the last of the old school of tyrannical conductors. His training was impeccable and his knowledge of music, especially the great Viennese classics, was complete. But when he tried to reorganize the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra according to his own plans, the musicians revolted. On November 29, 1965, the musicians refused to begin rehearsals for the upcoming season unless they could remain in

last season's seating rather than in the new arrangement that Krips's concertmaster Jacob Krachmalnick had drawn up. In this controversy, Krips was unwise in having delegated his authority to Krachmalnick, whose severe personality had not endeared him to his colleagues, but at the bottom of the fight was an attempt by the orchestra to limit the conductor's authority. This problem lingered until in 1967 a strike by the musicians cancelled seven weeks of performances at the season's opening.

At issue in this strike were both artistic and monetary issues. The musicians would not agree to a new contract until they felt that the power balance between the orchestra and the conductor was redressed. Traditionally the conductor was seen as a dictator whose decisions about personnel were law. Now the musicians were demanding a vote in their own fate. Faced with this confrontation, the association withdrew its support of the conductor's absolute authority and offered the orchestra elaborate grievance procedures if the musicians felt that any reseating was the result of a capricious or arbitrary decision by the conductor.⁵³ The compromise finally agreed upon still left the deciding vote on most personnel matters in the hands of the conductor, but it nevertheless recognized the orchestra's right to appeal and to obtain redress for valid grievances.

In monetary terms, the orchestra was demanding a minimum salary of \$225 a week for a 40-week season. The association's position was that its counterproposal of \$200 for a 35-week season would already catapult it into a deficit of \$545,000, or \$200,000 more than that of the previ-



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Members of the symphony recalled Monteux as using his baton to "draw a picture of what the music sound[ed] like." Each polished performance was the product of hours of strenuous rehearsals.



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Louise M. Davies Hall, designed expressly for symphony concerts, gave the orchestra a new home and San Francisco a new landmark which symbolized the transformation of the orchestra from an assemblage of skilled musicians who made their livings elsewhere to a major cultural institution.

ous season. In resolving this issue, the association pledged itself to what was basically the orchestra's position. The orchestra received pay increases that, after two years, totalled essentially what it had asked for. The association continued an agreement that had been part of the previous contract to continue lengthening the symphony season in order to offer the musicians as close to full-time work as possible.

On the night when the orchestra refused to begin rehearsals in 1965, association president Philip S. Boone says he saw immediately that Krips's old-school outlook would never mesh with the orchestra's new demands.⁵⁴ When in December of that year Krips further suggested that the administration hire Seiji Ozawa as a principal guest conductor, who could work as Krips's second in command, Boone began negotiations which would result in Ozawa's eventually being engaged in October, 1967, as Krips's successor rather than his assistant.⁵⁵ Krips naturally saw this move as a betrayal, but Boone argued that the lesson from Jordá's dismissal was that San Francisco audiences need periodic change. Moreover, Krips's concerts were already beginning to suffer from declining attendance, and his recognition that his tenure in San Francisco could not comfortably last beyond 1970 would save him the inevitable embarrassment of even further diminished audiences.⁵⁶

Seiji Ozawa was thirty-five years old when he became the San Francisco Symphony's music director in 1970, and clearly he was a conductor on the rise. That very first season, Ozawa was offered the music directorship of the Boston Symphony,

but he turned the offer down because Boston would not agree to share his services with San Francisco. By February, 1973, Boston was willing to accept such a proposal and named Ozawa as its music director. From then to the end of his tenure in San Francisco, Ozawa commuted back and forth, promising each orchestra that his commitment to it would not drop below fifty percent of its regular concert series. Given the press of such a schedule and the quality of the Boston Symphony, it was probably inevitable that Ozawa would give up his San Francisco position, as he did on July 20, 1975. However, his decision may have been colored by recent developments in his own struggle with the growing power of the orchestra. At the end of the 1973-1974 season the orchestra's committee voted not to endorse principal bassoonist Ryohei Nakagawa after his probationary period was over. The new procedures for hiring members into the orchestra established in the contract of 1972 included a probationary period of two years, after which the orchestra (through its committee) and then the conductor would vote on the performing abilities of the new members. At the same time that the orchestra refused to endorse Nakagawa, it refused tympanist Elayne Jones as well, thereby inaugurating a heated battle in which Jones claimed she had been discriminated against on the basis of sexual and racial prejudice. Though Jones's suit caused much unfavorable publicity for the orchestra, it was the firing of Nakagawa that hit Ozawa hardest, for Nakagawa was the conductor's friend and his particular choice for the bassoon principal.

Like Krips before him, Ozawa felt that the orchestra musicians were taking power that rightly belonged to him.⁵⁷ Ozawa never said directly that the Nakagawa affair soured his relationship with the San Francisco Symphony, but it was during the year when the controversy raged that Ozawa made his decision to resign from the San Francisco Symphony.

Meanwhile, the administration of the San Francisco Symphony began to formulate a clearer picture of what was needed to meet the demands of a modern orchestra. Principally, the administration began the drive that resulted in the building of Louise M. Davies Symphony Hall, the first home for the orchestra expressly designed for symphonic music.⁵⁸ The new hall would make it possible to promise the musicians a year-round job that would obviate the necessity of their finding other work to fill in the time when the symphony was not performing. The new hall thus offered the musicians the security and prestige they wanted and gave the administration a way of financing such security, since with it orchestral concerts could be presented nearly year-round.

In November, 1973, Samuel B. Stewart, upon his retirement from the Bank of America, became the president of the Sponsors of the San Francisco Performing Arts Center, which was incorporated the same month. Through the next seven years, Stewart spearheaded the group that was responsible for raising the funds needed to build a new symphony hall, which because of



SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY

Music director Edo DeWaart (left) and benefactor Louise Davies inspecting Davies Symphony Hall near its completion.



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"Members of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra" have played regularly in Municipal Concerts, the Summer Pops Series, and in the Midsummer Music Festival at Sigmund Stern Recreational Grove. Gaetano Merola conducted the June 25, 1950 concert at Stern Grove with soloist Florence Quartarari.

her contributions totalling \$5 million was named after Louise M. Davies. By March 1, 1976, Stewart's group reported collecting \$13.6 million of the estimated \$30 million needed for the hall.⁵⁹ Pietro Belluschi's design for the new hall was unveiled in November, and on February 24, 1978, Mayor George Moscone and Mrs. Davies officially broke ground for the construction of the hall.

At the same time that it was pushing the building campaign, the association had to replace Seiji Ozawa as the orchestra's music director. On March 11, 1976, the association appointed the symphony's principal guest conductor Edo de Waart (the first to hold such a position) as Ozawa's successor. De Waart, born in 1941, had begun his musical career as an oboist in Amsterdam's Concertgebouw Orchestra. In 1964 he won first prize in the Dimitri Mitropoulos Conducting Competition and as a result worked with Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic the next season. By the time de Waart was first named as San Francisco's principal guest conductor, he also held the position of artistic director of the Rotterdam Philharmonic.

De Waart was the first of San Francisco's music directors fully to understand and even to relish the partnership with the orchestra that modern circumstances demanded. Ozawa's international career and his commitment to Boston had kept him from the close day-by-day work of forming and maintaining a first-class ensemble. During his tenure the orchestra's discipline and cohesion had once again degenerated as Ozawa neglected the housekeeping side of the music director's job.

When de Waart succeeded Ozawa, he faced a profound questioning of his talents, both from the orchestra and from the audience and press. De Waart has admitted that in the atmosphere of doubt he tightened up on the podium, and through many of his concerts the conductor's hesitancy and self-consciousness resounded. Yet de Waart turned this predicament to his own and the orchestra's advantage when he plunged himself whole-heartedly into the rehearsal work of training the musicians and honing the ensemble in a kind of relief from the relentless publicity of performances. Gradually but inevitably de Waart gained the musicians' confidence and though he never became a charismatic leader, the orchestra itself was profoundly improved.⁶⁰

Furthermore, de Waart was given an enormous opportunity to refine the San Francisco Symphony when the orchestra, which since 1923 had also played for the San Francisco Opera, was split into two groups. Once Davies Hall was open, the opera and the symphony could run simultaneously and thus required separate orchestras, both of which drew their core ensembles from the existing San Francisco Symphony. In his negotiations with individual players, de Waart was rigorous in insisting that he did not think that certain players belonged in the symphony and that they would be better off volunteering for the opera orchestra.⁶¹ De Waart's care and strength paid off, for the current success of the San Francisco Symphony can be dated from the orchestra's debut in Davies Symphony Hall on September 16, 1980. Despite the almost universal dismay over its

acoustical properties,⁶² the new hall invigorated both orchestra and audience alike and gave everyone involved a sense of adventure, success, and long-awaited arrival.

Nor was the new hall the only factor in the orchestra's resurgence. Beginning with the 1980 season, the San Francisco Symphony has toured annually and won national acclaim. De Waart's imaginative programming and commissioning of contemporary music won five American Society for Composers, Authors and Performers (ASCAP) awards for the symphony between 1980 and 1985. Furthermore, the relationship that de Waart developed with composer John Adams, who since 1978 had been the symphony's new-music advisor, became the model for the National Endowment for the Arts composer-in-residence program throughout the country.

On May 5, 1983, Edo de Waart announced that he had accepted the position of music director and principal conductor of the Netherlands Opera and that he would resign from the San Francisco Symphony at the end of the 1984-1985 season. To replace de Waart, the symphony engaged Herbert Blomstedt, who since 1976 had conducted the Dresden Staatskapelle. As the San Francisco Symphony celebrates the seventy-fifth anniversary of its December 8, 1911 inaugural concert, Blomstedt has been with the orchestra only one full season, but already he has established a remarkable rapport with the musicians.⁶³ His knowledge of the repertoire commands the orchestra's respect and he himself seems happy in the partnership that a modern American orchestra requires. □


See notes on pages 310-313.



SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY

Herbert Blomstedt became the orchestra's music director in 1985, the first to begin his San Francisco career in Davies Hall. Blomstedt was also the first to conduct from the outset a full-time orchestra dedicated exclusively to performing symphonic music.

This article was made possible by a generous grant from Mrs. Leroy F. Krusi in memory of her late husband.



ASPECTS OF THE DOCUMENTARY

KEN LIGHT'S PHOTOGRAPHS OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA

by John Bloom with photographs by Ken Light

Throughout his career Ken Light has worked intensely in the humanist documentary mode which finds its roots in the 1860s in the photographic work of John Thompson, who photographed daily life and customs in China. In the 1880s, the Danish reporter-photographer Jacob Riis brought a socio-political consciousness to photography. Not only did he photograph the squalid living conditions of the new immigrant class in New York City, but he also gave public slide lectures on the topic for the purpose of social reform. Riis's use of photography established a precedent which would resurface in work by Lewis Hine, Dorothea Lange (who is an inspirational figure for Light), and W. Eugene Smith, among others.

Each of these important photographers has brought an individual perspective to the photographic process, and each has participated in the events he (or she) has photographed. Thus it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between what the photographer was observing and what is conveyed by the photograph itself. The image maker is a primary witness, but the photographic record (as it represents an interpretation through selection of moment and spatial orientation) is actually a secondary source. Thus in *attempting* to establish an objective relationship between the image and its source one must also come to understand the photographer, his positions, and, indeed, his moral condition. I think it would be fair to say that the objectivity of the camera is as much a myth as the objectivity of human perception.

The representational photograph, often a beautiful object in its own right, alludes to its original subject of origin through a pictorial syntax. On one hand, realistic appearance reflects the extent to which the patterns of light and shadow in the print *approximate* what was before the camera. On the other, the picture itself functions as an emblem of or symbol for its subject of origin. Since we tend to interpret emblems and symbols through our own assumptions and associations, the locus of an image's meaning is in the crossover between what the image brings to the viewer and what the viewer brings to the picture.

The documentary photographic image presents a special case within models of photographic interpretation. The function of the document is to provide a record (evidence, if



you will) of an event, individual, or object. If the connection between the image and its origin is to be significant and the information directly referential, the viewer has to establish a context for the content. That the content is inseparable from the photographer's selection and interpretation is indicative of how ambiguous the photographic image is—despite its quality of approximation. The danger in contextualizing an image is that the process is highly interpretive. Unless the interpretation (or projection) is founded upon direct experience or careful research, it is often far from objective. This type of projective distortion is exemplified when the same photograph is accompanied by different captions in unassociated contexts.¹

Nonetheless, enough analytical methods have been developed to shed some light on the meaning of the image and the encoded attitudes of the photographer.² Ken Light's "Child of migrant pear pickers, Lake County, California, 1979," serves as a model from the portfolio published here. The single child in the lower center of the picture looks directly at the camera and the photographer—and through the image confronts us. This frontal "eye contact" pierces the picture surface to bring us into the child's space. Her expression is slightly apprehensive but cooperative, her posture covered by her gown still seems unrelaxed as she has fit her body to the flat structure of the ladder. Her clothing and face are dirty, her hair unkempt. She is isolated, not only from people (we see no others in the picture though we are privileged to be present through the photographer) but also from the nature around her by the graphic attributes of the ladder.

This rather negative analytical thread, however, is contraindicated by the pictorial aspects of the image. The composition is carefully structured around the central axis. The back-lighting sets up a halo-like glow around her head and emphasizes the calligraphic linear edge of the gown. As Light has printed the image, the light envelops the child. In art-historical tradition this light has implied divine presence and, by inference, protection. The result is somewhat self-contradictory—reaction to the child's unsupportive and unhealthy living conditions is mollified by the graphic and tonal structure of the picture. This (seeming) contradiction is an important issue for documentary photographers. There is always a tension between the inherently beautiful qualities of the medium and the communication of visually unattractive information, between form and content. Are politically convincing messages and pictorial beauty at odds? Photographers working in the humanistic documentary mode have proposed one answer to this question by treating beauty as part of their *syntax of approximation*.

It is no small irony that as social conditions decay, there is heightened interest in socio-politically motivated photography. Neither is it comforting to realize the increasing array of worthy projects. Ken Light has been at the forefront of renewed interest in this aspect of documentary photography. This portfolio of photographs made in California is selected from Light's recently published book, *With These Hands*, which addresses on a national scale the lives and working conditions of migrant farm workers. □

See notes on page 313.

John Bloom is a photographic artist, critic, and the editor of *Photometro*. *With These Hands* was published by Pilgrim Books, New York, in 1986 and in a limited special edition by Documerica Films & Books, Vallejo.



*Child of migrant pear pickers
Lake County, California 1979
© Ken Light*



◀ *Lettuce picker
corporate farm
Salinas, California 1983
© Ken Light*



Grape picker
Delano, California 1982
© Ken Light



Setting asparagus
Sherman Island
Sacramento Delta, California 1982
© Ken Light



*Hoer, pepper field
Merced, California 1983
© Ken Light*



◀ "Danger/Peligro"
Salinas, California 1983
© Ken Light



◀ *Grape picker*
Napa Valley, California 1984
© Ken Light



*Cabin 34, migrant camp
Delano, California 1982
© Ken Light*

NURTURING SOCIETY'S CHILDREN



by Gloria Ricci Lothrop



The German Kindergarten or child's garden is attracting attention with us. It is the happiest play teaching ever thought of and the child's Paradise regained for those who have lost theirs." Thus declared Bronson Alcott in 1860 of the relatively unknown educational experiment advanced by the European Froebelian movement.¹ Within decades the movement would achieve educational legitimacy throughout the United States largely as a result of the efforts of three California crusaders. Caroline Severance, Kate Douglas Wiggin, and Sarah Ingersoll Cooper, each in a distinct way, gave substance to Friedrich Froebel's educational vision, and in the process, thrust California to the forefront of early childhood education. Los Angeles kindergartens, which had been at the vanguard of the movement, were nationally acclaimed. In 1908 San Francisco's Golden Gate Kindergarten Association was hailed as the most richly endowed, most popular, and best organized of all the nation's kindergartens. Another precedent was set in 1920, when as a result of the earnest appeals of California's organized women's groups, the kindergarten was of-

A trio of California women led the transformation of kindergartens from limited experiments into a major instrument of social reform. Carolyn Severance (left), the "Mother of Clubs," put kindergartens high on the agenda of the reform movement in Los Angeles. Kate Douglas Wiggin (center) enchanted children and adult observers alike, inspiring important backers to support the movement. Sarah Ingersoll Cooper (right) built the institutional framework for free kindergartens in San Francisco.

ficially added to the state school system.

The idea of the kindergarten had been introduced to Americans in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1859 readers of the *Christian Examiner*, a periodical sensitive to the latest trends in German philosophy, literature, and education were introduced to Froebel's experiment in an article praising the educational philosopher's emphasis on the harmonious unity of life, action, and knowledge.² Especially appealing to pioneer American social reformers was the place of cooperative work in Froebel's scheme, which also attempted to instill "an idea of self-government into the tiny slips of humanity that find their way into the kindergarten."³ The practical appeal of the movement was captured by one kindergarten apostle who wrote: "It bears on social reform as a plan of education which offers valuable suggestions in regard to the mental, moral and physical culture of children."⁴

Froebel's plan to "give man himself," was centered on a belief in an eternal, unifying law.⁵ Like the American Transcendentalists, he believed that the material world was only an exterior, dynamic expression of an inner divinity, manifestly embodied in young children. Education was, therefore, "a process of leading the child to a clear self-consciousness of the inner law of Divine Unity."⁶

Believing that "all progress depends on education," Froebel urged early childhood training which capitalized upon the youngster's natural inclinations, and which responded to his youthful exuberance by allowing opportunities for play, in a setting which was at once invit-

ing and aesthetically satisfying. The carefully organized curriculum consisted of a series of gifts, beginning with a ball and leading to other shapes, and an array of occupations and games "that worthily correspond to the child's nature and the man's being." These were to be pursued under the direction of a trained kindergartener, in the company of peers, in a *Kindergarten*, or child's garden, a neologism which Froebel felt expressed the key elements of his romantic education.⁷

In brightly painted rooms, surrounded by sunny gardens, children engaged in directed movement, nature study and cultivation of nature, and the development of a social culture. These activities, in combination with experiences in music and art, Froebel felt, not only contributed to "an elevated tendency of the soul," but led the child to "an understanding of the whole, in which the infinite variety of objects could be classified and united."⁸

Inspired by Pestalozzi and Herbart, the Father of the Kindergarten in 1816 opened his first school at Jena. At the kindergarten he attempted the "unfoldment of a child's native capacities"⁹ in a gay arena of color and light equipped with clay, scissors, and paste. There, through song and story the children pursued the Froebelian trinity of self-development, constructive activity, and social cooperation.

Within the decade Froebel had gained fame. "Child gardens" had been established in a large part of Germany and throughout Europe. This had occurred largely as a result of the advocacy of such noted adherents as the Baroness Maria von Bulow, president of the German Froebel Society. At the same time,

Free kindergartens in California were intended to rescue children from unwholesome surroundings as well as offer them the learning adventures promised by Froebel's curriculum. Accordingly, they recruited pupils of all races from poor and immigrant communities. The informal seating arrangement is in marked contrast to the rows of desks in most nineteenth century schools.

though, Froebel's project was being eaten away by debt, and neglected administrative duties became burdensome annoyances. Worst of all, in 1851, in the wake of the Revolution of 1848, the Prussians, suspicious of Froebel's liberalism and confusing him with his anti-Hohenzollern nephew and namesake, placed the kindergarten under an interdict which was to last nearly a decade.

Survival of his pedagogy lay, therefore, in his ongoing training of a corps of kindergartners, who under his direction participated in a program of lectures, reading, and practical exercises in kindergarten theory. In the midst of the revolutionary ferment of 1848, several of these disciples, including Maria Boelte and Matilda Kriege, embarked for America, spurred on by Froebel's optimistic expectation that the United States was hospitable to the kindergarten. Froebel urged: "We must emigrate to the country that offers all the conditions for the existence of a genuine human family life which renders the development of pure humanity possible, where such life is at least sought and can freely develop."¹⁰ His position was echoed by his faithful adherent von Bulow, who wrote to the emigres: "I think you, in America, will succeed in this task much easier than we can here in Germany, where we are so often hindered by social laws and the rules of government."¹¹

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Cardinal to Froebel's program of instruction was the selective enlistment of young women into kindergarten training, which he believed offered "the perfect development of womanliness."¹² In addition, he expressed with even greater fervor the earlier appeals of Pestalozzi and Rousseau, asserting that the office of educator is "a woman's role by the very nature of things, irrespective of whether she has children or not." In 1847 he reaffirmed his contention, adding that "no education, least of all that of infancy, can dispense with the active cooperation of women."¹³ In America, where in his estimation women recognized their roles as mothers and teachers more than did women in other nations, Froebel hoped to introduce the kindergarten training course to bridge the interval between the end of schooling and the period when family formation responsibilities commenced.¹⁴

Finally the long-sought-after endorsement by leaders of American education occurred as a result of a chance observation made by Henry Bernard during a tour of London in 1854. A visit to a demonstration class conducted by Froebel graduates Margaretha Meyer and Bertha Ranke awakened his admiration. He wrote about his positive impressions in an article appearing in the *American Journal of Education* in 1856.

In the two years between Bernard's visit and the article's appearance young Margaretha Meyer had arrived in the United States as the bride of Carl Schurz. In an effort to preserve the traditions and the German language among the children in the immigrant community in which they had settled, she established in Watertown, Wisconsin

the first kindergarten in America in 1855. Others followed in New York, Hoboken, Detroit, and Louisville, all adhering to the principles of Froebel's New Education but essentially operating as bilingual German schools dedicated to the preservation of German culture.

An American woman soon became a second crucial protagonist in the kindergarten movement. She lived at the very cutting edge of experimentation in American education. Bostonian Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, sister-in-law to both Horace Mann and Nathaniel Hawthorne, an enthusiastic member of the Transcendentalist school, and a gifted teacher, was intrigued with both Bernard's report and the article appearing in the *Christian Examiner* in 1859 which summarized the Froebel philosophy and described the curriculum of the German kindergarten.

Peabody, at the full maturity of her powers and uniquely suited to embrace the Froebel philosophy, studied the new educational theorems; her exceptional mind quickly grasped the importance Froebel attached to discovery and movement and to the role of the Gifts and Occupations. In 1860, therefore, she attempted to implement the new-found pedagogy by opening a small, private kindergarten in Boston, the first English-speaking kindergarten in the nation. However, Peabody was soon overtaken by what she believed to be the shallowness of her lessons. Somehow, the essence of this inspired instruction eluded her. As a result, in 1867 she embarked for Europe to pursue additional study.

Her subsequent return to the United States ushered in a decade of progress for the education she so de-



voutly championed. In 1873 Peabody persuaded the St. Louis superintendent of schools, William T. Harris, to employ kindergartner Susan Blow to conduct the first Froebelian training in a public school. By 1879 Susan Blow's success had resulted in the expansion of the program to fifty-three classes conducted by one hundred and thirty-one paid teachers.

Another crucial step was taken when the National Education Association (NEA), with its continuing interest in German educational innovations, in 1873 appointed a committee to investigate the kindergarten movement. The committee's report affirming the value of the new education resulted in the establishment of a permanent department of the NEA devoted to the subject.

The event which shifted the kindergarten movement from a pioneering to a popularizing phase, however, was an exhibit in the Women's Pavilion at the 1876 Cen-

tennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. More than ten million visitors toured the Woman's Schoolhouse and the five kindergarten displays, including a working school where a trained kindergarten teacher conducted daily classes.

Furthermore, in a series of articles, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* hailed the movement, declaring:

*"The Kindergarten is a great fact and a far greater promise. It is a sign of the new education that is to train our boys and girls for the science and art of common life. It means to restore the old paradise and keep the devil out."*¹⁵

A subsequent issue noted encouragingly that the kindergarten "is now in favor in France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, England and Russia, Austria incorporates it with her public schools, and Italy makes it part of her national school system."¹⁶

Further evidence of support was

offered in Wisconsin which by 1870 had established the nation's first kindergarten association. In another pioneering move, Wisconsin by the end of the decade included kindergarten instruction as an established part of the curriculum at the Oshkosh Wisconsin Normal School.



It was in the midst of this growing support that the movement suddenly spanned the continent, first establishing itself along

the Pacific Coast in a kindergarten training school in Los Angeles, under the auspices of Caroline Maria Severance. Like her associate Elizabeth Peabody, Severance had vigorously participated in the intellectual exploration and the dedicated spirit of reform which characterized the Transcendentalist group around

The Emma Marwedal School at 1241 Powell Street in San Francisco was the first kindergarten to open after the 1906 earthquake and fire. The school operated until the end of World War II.

Boston. Before retiring to Southern California with her husband Theoderic in 1875, the dynamic Severance had spoken publicly in support of the abolitionist cause, on occasion sharing the podium with William Lloyd Garrison. She had also served on the first board of the New England Hospital for Women and Children, and had actively supported the social purity and suffrage movements, becoming a founding member of Lucy Stone's American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869.¹⁷

Convinced that the failure to extend civil rights to women in the constitutional amendments ratified in the wake of the Civil War arose from the fact that women still exerted limited political leverage, in 1868 she organized the New England Woman's Club to provide members with practice in public speaking and parliamentary procedure as well as the opportunity to examine public issues. One of the club's earliest presentations, a disquisition on the kindergarten by Elizabeth Peabody, captured her interest. As a result, Severance not only lent her support to the Boston enterprise but announced "that her first duty in Los Angeles was to find a proper house and garden for Miss Emma Marwedel," a kindergartner trained by Froebel who most recently had been operating an industrial school for women in New Jersey and a kindergarten in Washington D.C.

Despite "mountains of accomplished work for women in Massachusetts," at the age of fifty-seven Severance joined her husband in running Muscapaibe Ranch and building a new home, "El Nido," in what Emerson had described as the "new and unapproachable West."

Los Angeles in 1875 claimed "no paved streets and a few board sidewalks." It had "a water system of *zanjas* and wooden and iron pipes . . . and a fine creaking wheel lifting water in buckets just outside the Bath Street School in Sonora Town."¹⁸

However, the sleepy town of 10,500 was soon to be touched by the sweeping vision of city-builder Severance "who knew or cared nothing for fashion, who was neither brilliant, witty nor rich, and who exemplified plain living and high thinking."¹⁹

Severance was noted for her fine reasonableness, her tolerance and openness to new ideas, but her later years were marked most notably by her singleminded dedication to Los Angeles, which she described as a "city nestled in a vale fair as Italy's own."²⁰ Energized by this new commitment, she attempted to wean Los Angeles to cityhood by introducing the town's first book club. In the Severance dwelling, surrounded by magnolias and rubber trees, the couple held the town's first Unitarian Church services, and despite the hostility of the local press, Caroline Severance once more organized a woman's club. Under her leadership, the Friday Morning Club crusaded for prison reform, conservation, and suffrage, as well as championing issues later to be subsumed in the agenda of the California Progressives.²¹

Severance was an obvious leader among women who were described to be "of the advanced type, [who] advocated dress reform, low heels, no corsets, new systems of diet, universal suffrage, feminism, a single standard of morals and the economic independence of women."²² But the reform cause she cham-

pioned with greatest fervor was the Froebelian New Education, which she described as "an elaborate system of education whose like the world has never before known and whose value is but beginning to be recognized and felt." Since this system makes provision for teaching children from infancy to the University, she noted, and includes within it provisions for critical thinking as well as for the development of will and character, those powers that "make good citizens, social benefactors, leaders and heroes of our race, . . . it must eventually be the training which will appeal to all educators as imperative. It *will* come."²³

Her vision of the new education seemed to be far in advance of reality in Los Angeles, however. In 1875 only 4,237 of the 7,878 residents between five and seventeen years old were enrolled in school, and less than half regularly attended the seven-and-one-half months of annual instruction. There were also questions as to whether the town's seventy-two teachers, "two-thirds being made up of raw recruits" would respond to Froebel's educational dicta.²⁴

Nevertheless, with true conviction and a continuing belief in the power of women's associations, Caroline Severance recruited twenty-five of Los Angeles' leading ladies to gather together the pupils and prepare the kindergarten and training school located at First and Hill streets. Soon after, she wrote to a young music teacher on the faculty of the Santa Barbara college headed by her son, Mark Sibley Severance. She had already discussed with Kate Smith her plans for a Froebel kindergarten, in a conversation which left



the young lady with the following impression: "If I had been made of tinder and a lighted match had been applied to me, I could not have taken fire more easily. . . ."25

It was with alacrity, therefore, that Kate Smith responded to the invitation which ensued from Los Angeles:

*The training school will open at once, even if there is only one pupil, and, my dear Kate, I beseech you to be the one! You were born for this work and are peculiarly fitted to do a pioneer service because you are musical, a good storyteller and fond of children. I have studied you carefully without your knowledge, and at my age I am a fair judge of necessary requirements. You have the play spirit, but you also love to work!*²⁶

Needless to say Kate shone as the bright, particular star of Miss Marwedel's graduating class from whence she would carry the kindergarten's gospel to the nation at

large.

For Severance in Los Angeles the fortunes of Froebel's New Education ebbed and flowed. Following Emma Marwedel's transit to San Francisco, the movement shrunk to two kindergartens housed in Congregational churches on Chavez Street and west of the city's river on Sain-savain Street.

In 1885, however, again spurred by her belief in the power of women if they organized, Severance convened a "band of fourteen earnest, thoughtful and public-spirited women" who gathered at the Froebel Institute to launch, with the cooperation of the College Settlement Association, a kindergarten available without fee to any young resident of Sonoratown. For the next ten years the group sustained the free kindergarten by means of a series of "attractive entertainments . . . the first of fine literary value given in Los

Angeles" which included accomplished interpretations of Emerson and Browning, as well as a most popular musical program entitled, "The Cradle Songs of Nations."²⁷

In 1889 at the point when the association's coffers could only moderately support one volunteer teacher, the city's school board finally acceded to the compelling public demand to assume responsibility for the existing twelve kindergartens and subsequently include such training in the public school curriculum. Severance, already focusing on an issue which still beleaguers social planners today, rued the fact that the exclusion of those under four-and-one-half years of age would leave large numbers of "waifs and strays . . . afloat upon the streets and under its vile influences."²⁸

Despite these criticisms, when in 1925 Los Angeles hosted the International Kindergarten Union, the

Chinese kindergarten in Los Angeles, ca. 1900. Like the first Froebel kindergartens in the United States, which taught the children of German immigrants in their own language, this school strengthened ethnic identity and cohesion. Yet, ultimately, it was their usefulness as an arena for Americanization and socialization that made kindergartens so popular among reformers.

town was heralded as the "greatest kindergarten city of the world—a city with 174 kindergartens, 324 kindergarten teachers and 12,437 kindergarten pupils." This was a palpable tribute to Caroline Severance, also known as Mme. Severance, the Mother of Clubs, who in giving action to her belief in the power of women's associations ultimately had founded the International Federation of Women's Clubs. Indeed, Severance's greatest nationwide contribution to the kindergarten movement, especially as it entered its third phase of social reform, was her utilization of women's organizations, providing the model for the hundreds of kindergarten support associations organized by 1900. Indeed, in the estimation of historian Katherine Kish Sklar, a hallmark distinguishing American social reform has been the public leadership assumed by middle-class women's groups heeding the clarion call first uttered by Caroline Severance in Boston in 1867 and echoed in Los Angeles in 1875.²⁹

Equally far-reaching was Severance's perceptive appraisal of Kate Smith. In the course of "revealing Kate Douglas Wiggin to herself," Severance anointed an incandescent disciple, who as a kindergartner would be known far beyond the Pacific slope. Soon after graduating from Miss Marwedel's tutelage in 1877, Kate returned to Santa Barbara to take charge of a private kindergarten. Later she was caught up in the vortex of a reform movement that seized upon the kindergarten as a wedge into the expanding communities of immigrants and disadvantaged who increasingly crowded the less well-tended stretches of the urban landscape.



America in its Gilded Age was notable for accomplishments and inventions as well as its extravagance and excesses. This era of dramatic contradiction could, therefore, as easily accommodate a renewed spirit of social reform and Social Gospel as it could the Protestant demarcations favored by Social Darwinism.³⁰ The need for social reform agencies was exacerbated by the ever increasing stream of European immigrants entering the cities. Their children, along with the children of the urban poor, crowded like human refuse along the city streets, leading journalist Jacob Riis to observe that the problem of urban childhood was the single "gravest arraignment of a Christian civilization in an age of prosperity."³¹ In response to this human blight, constructive and preventive philanthropic efforts were launched. These included the founding of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, the passage of laws limiting child labor, and the adoption of a probation system for juvenile offenders.

Some Froebelianians also responded to this challenge by establishing charity kindergartens. Advocates of this educational philanthropy believed that the exposure could alter patterns of urban poverty, thus investing the kindergarten with responsibilities even exceeding Froebel's expectations. This was the thrust of the free kindergarten established in Manhattan by Felix Adler's Ethical Culture Society.³²

As a result of a series of lectures delivered by Adler in San Francisco in 1878, a group of the city's well-to-

do citizens determined to organize the Silver Street Kindergarten in a San Francisco slum area known as Tar Flat. Emma Marwedel and her star graduate Kate Smith were summoned northward to bring the project to fruition. It was with zealous enthusiasm that in the bright, airy kindergarten room, Kate Smith planted her "child-garden" whose beauty, brotherhood and kindness were to open the windows of "human possibility."

With her "street Arabs of the wild-east type" Miss Kate walked joyously in the heart of Tar Flat "and began experimenting with her newly learned panaceas." At No. 64, Silver Street, at the first free kindergarten west of the Rockies, Kate created classrooms, quiet rooms, and playgrounds for the 160 pupils she divided into four families, each pursuing a differing cycle of Froebelian exercises, varying from weaving to dictation, modeling to invention. The "kids' guard" as the neighborhood referred to her, asserted years later that she refused to believe "that any other company of children in the universe were as piquantly interesting as those of the Silver Street Kindergarten, particularly the never-to-be-forgotten 'first forty.'"³³

By 1880 a training school with four pupils was added to the operation. Soon, the traditional afternoon home visits were supplemented by mothers' classes at Silver Street. Thereafter followed parent nights. As the operations expanded, Housekeeper Classes based on Columbia's Kitchen Gardens were provided for girls aged nine to fifteen. All of the programs rested upon the support of the Silver Street Association, the second oldest free kindergarten support group in the nation, which had



been established in 1878. Miss Kate's growing fame led to appearances before the City Superintendent of Instruction, the executive committee of the State Teachers Association and to a memorable debate with John Swett, then principal of San Francisco's high school. After Kate's convincing presentation of the affirmative position favoring free kindergartens, Swett merely shook his head and, chuckling, announced: "No, I'm well enough off where I am. I've got a wife and family and I've no right to expose myself to certain destruction."³⁴

The vivacious, magnetic Kate Smith attracted an ever-growing number of pilgrims to her experimental school. Among the thousands marveling at the story-teller who enchanted her young charges was the California poet Joaquin Miller, who wrote in the visitors' book: "See the Yosemite Valley first and then the Silver Street Kindergar-

ten!"³⁵ Another visitor, Sarah Ingersoll Cooper, was so moved by a morning visit to the Silver Street Kindergarten that she made a lifelong commitment "to lay the foundation for a better national character by founding kindergartens for neglected children."³⁶ It was a fortuitous encounter between Cooper and Smith, for as new opportunities led Miss Kate to a broader arena, Sarah Cooper was to accept the torch in California.

Kate's marriage in 1881 to a lifelong friend, lawyer Samuel Bradley Wiggin, took her to New York City and to additional study with the founders of the American kindergarten movement. But she faithfully continued to support Silver Street. In 1883 an effort to raise funds led her to write *The Story of Patsy*, "a small, human documentary record of the kindergarten. . . ."³⁷ In 1887, in another attempt to raise money for her beloved school, she published

the enormously successful, *The Birds' Christmas Carol*.³⁸ The stream of stories which followed, like *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* and *Penelope's Progress*, also included such thoughtful explications of Froebel's New Education as the *Republic of Childhood* (1895-96) written with her sister, Nora Archibald Smith. It was therefore with substantive justification that the Report of the Commissioner of Education declared:

That interest in the kindergarten grew under the direction of this gifted labor was but natural. No single individual has done more to spread kindergarten influence and to gain friends for the cause than the author of "The Story of Patsy." No kindergarten has enjoyed a wider celebrity and achieved greater success among the children and in their homes than the celebrated Silver Street Kindergarten, conducted by Mrs. Wiggin and her sister, Nora A. Smith. The work done at

By the 1940s, kindergartens were an established part of the public school systems of large cities like Los Angeles. Although they encouraged children to learn by playing, they no longer used Froebel's elaborate curriculum, and their teachers came from state teachers' colleges rather than special schools.

*Silver Street was the mainspring of all subsequent work in California.*³⁹

Education writer Beulah Bennett in an article entitled "What Constitutes a Kindergartner?" attempted to identify those traits which led to the charismatic success of Wiggin and her corps of teachers, noting, "In the kindergarten are needed women who know the needs of humanity through experience; whose insight goes to true and lasting things; who can stretch out their hands and lift up the weaker ones."⁴⁰

That profile aptly describes Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper, who, after arriving in San Francisco with her family in 1869, settled into the literary, philanthropic, and religious life of the city. In addition to writing articles and teaching Bible classes, she occupied herself by preparing reports on California schools for the United States Commissioner of Education. All of this contributed to her heightened awareness and enthusiastic response to the fateful meeting when she visited the Silver Street Kindergarten in 1878. Firmly dedicated to the principles of applied Christianity and taken by the efficacy of Froebel's system, she later wrote, "I expect to devote the rest of my life to benevolence as far as I can."⁴¹

Fueled by Christian social conscience combined with what Page Smith has described as a "Protestant passion," Cooper introduced kindergarten pedagogy into her Bible classes. Unfortunately, both the children's play and Froebel's metaphysics resulted in an investigation by the more orthodox of the church patriarchy. Although exonerated of the charge of heresy, Cooper left the Presbyterians and joined the Con-

gregational Church. She also pursued new paths of involvement outside the Bible School. Under her auspices, a kindergarten and association were soon organized, attracting the support of both Jane Stanford and Phoebe Apperson Hearst, both of whom became steadfast patrons of Cooper's Golden Gate Kindergarten Association. In addition to supporting six kindergartens, Stanford provided a \$200,000 endowment fund. Hearst, "the kindergarten Angel," impressed by the group's rescue efforts during the 1906 earthquake and fire, donated funds for a headquarters and seven free kindergartens.⁴² In her continual fundraising appeals to the community's business leaders Cooper always stressed "the investment in the commonwealth," arguing the benefits of kindergarten training in terms of crime prevention, character development, and vocational training. As a result, the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association "was the largest, wealthiest, best organized and most flourishing for the extension of the Froebel system," according to early kindergarten historian Nina Vandewalker.⁴³ By 1900 more than 30,000 children had been enrolled in the forty-one kindergartens, supported by a \$500,000 endowment fund. Even in the wake of the Panic of 1893, when subscription support declined, the association maintained twenty-three kindergartens, and Sarah Cooper continued to distribute what ultimately amounted to 80,000 copies of the annual reports. The Golden Gate Kindergarten Free Normal Training School, staffed with an impressive array of educators, annually placed its forty-eight graduates in prime positions around the United States and abroad.⁴⁴

In recognition of this leadership, Cooper was one of two at-large delegates elected to the Kindergarten Department of the NEA which recommended the formation of an International Kindergarten Union (IKU). The IKU was to be dedicated to the advancement of the movement, and more specifically, to the preparation of an exhibition at the Columbian Exposition to be held in 1893 at Chicago. San Francisco's Sarah Ingersoll Cooper was elected the first president of the IKU. Her influence continued to be felt at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. Visitors entering the Children's Building were greeted by an array of kindergarten exhibits and demonstrations. Delegates attending the concurrent Special Kindergarten Congress heard Cooper's earnest plea for "Every Mother a Kindergartner."⁴⁵



Froebel's educational plan had become an established reality. By 1900 there were about 4,500 kindergartens in the United States.⁴⁶

The number of associations had multiplied many times over, particularly in California, which ranked fifth in the nation. Los Angeles was listed "among those cities having the most fully developed system," having been in 1889 among the vanguard to incorporate the kindergarten into the public school system.⁴⁷ Despite this early success, as late as 1913 only fourteen of the fifty-eight counties in California had local public school kindergartens. As a result, a coalition of the International Kinder-



garten Union, National Educational Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Congress of Mothers, and the National Council of Women petitioned the state legislature to pass a law providing for the establishment and maintenance of public kindergartens. What passed instead was a law requiring school boards to establish a class upon petition of "parents of twenty-five children between the ages of four and six-and-a-half, living within one mile from an elementary school."⁴⁸ Within two years the compromise resulted in hundreds of new kindergartens. Finally, by an overwhelming vote in 1920, Proposition 16, "a multifaceted amendment to the state constitution, . . . added kindergartens to the state school system."⁴⁹

In the presence of such growing success Kate Douglas Wiggin declared, "We shall attempt no defense of the kindergarten. It has passed all

the experimental stages; it is no longer on trial for its life and is no longer humbly begging for a place in the land."⁵⁰

The German pedagogue's dream of "a simple, unpretentious place where a lot of tiny children work and play together" and with "rational and respectful treatment are led to do right," has today become universally accepted within our educational framework.⁵¹ It is so accepted that we have overlooked its important influences upon John Dewey and progressive education, for example. It is so familiar a fixture that we are surprised to learn that in its revolutionary vigor it preceded the settlement houses in carrying out various agendas of uplift, Americanization, and even temperance among the urban poor. So confined by our own time and place are we that we overlook the fact that the principles of our own Headstart programs strongly echo the educa-

tional precepts of early Froebelian reformers.

Finally, so scattered if not subsumed is women's history that we have not known to look with pride upon the three California leaders who firmly established this movement on the Pacific slope and, in turn, made a national contribution to it. Caroline Severance, with her conviction that all things were possible if women organized, provided the support structure. Enchantingly gifted Kate Douglas Wiggin provided a national image and became its apologist both in her theoretical work and her classics in juvenile literature. Intrepid organizer and administrator Sarah Ingersoll Cooper led the movement to its maturity. With what foresight Miss Kate once said, "The great watchword of today is together."⁵² Together, indeed, they nourished a tradition of which we can be proud. □

See notes on page 314.

SAN FRANCISCO & PROHIBITION IN 1924

WETTEST IN THE WEST

by Kenneth D. Rose

It had been New Year's Eve in San Francisco, but the "festivities" described by the papers the next day were dominated by tales of senseless violence and paralyzing intoxication. GUESTS BATTLE U.S. AGENTS IN RAID ON NEW YEAR BOOZE PARTY was the headline of the *San Francisco Examiner*. The accompanying story described a federal prohibition raid on Begin's—"a scene of wild revelry, with girls, men and women drunk." Prohibition agents reported that "drunkenness was rampant among the huge crowd in the resort," that "young girls had been found in the rear of the cafe helplessly intoxicated," and that one of their agents, M.J. O'Callaghan, had been attacked by a party of men "who were, according to the raiders, violating the prohibition law."

Prohibition agents raided the Eiffel Tower, another San Francisco night spot, during the evening, and half an hour later it was running wide open again. Another squad under David W. Rinckel raided it again, at which time "A. Lester Peters, a guest, attempted to attack Rinckel and was arrested." All in all, federal prohibition agents made thirteen raids and thirty-four arrests on New Year's Eve and confiscated large quantities of liquor.¹

Over in Oakland, "riots in which

the lives of patrolmen were threatened, mob scenes, fist fights, clubbings, eighteen arrests and two men in the emergency hospital" were part of that city's New Year's Eve celebration:

The fight started when patrolman I.C. Christensen attempted to force Delbert Erickson to move on. Erickson, according to police report, was intoxicated and he knocked the policeman's hat off and tore his star from his coat. The crowd closed in on the two as they battled and Christensen called for help. Three other policemen responded and after they had knocked Erickson senseless battled their way to the City Hall, followed by the mob, which remained about the hall calling upon someone to "kill the cops." A squad of ten patrolmen attempted to disperse the mob and were badly beaten.

Prohibition authorities were not complaining, however. In fact, "gauged by their standard, it was a much dryer celebration than last year's."² Any "standard" which would enable prohibition agents to find hopeful signs in this New Year's Eve had to be low, and in fact prohibition enforcement in America's cities was in great disarray by 1924. In no city outside Chicago or New York was that disarray more painfully obvious than in San Francisco.

Indeed, it is hard to conceive of a

town more poorly suited for abstinence than San Francisco. San Francisco had been a town associated with excess from the Gold Rush days forward, and the fuel for San Francisco's excesses, both legal and illegal, had always been alcohol in massive quantities. In 1890, for instance, the city granted over 3,000 liquor licenses, or one for every ninety-six inhabitants, while as many as 2,000 unlicensed establishments may have been operating at the same time.³ According to one estimate, this meant that San Francisco had more saloons per capita than any other city in the United States (more than double the saloons per capita in New York and Chicago).⁴

San Francisco's reputation as a "wide-open" town and as a font of corrupt municipal administration remained almost unbroken from the days of the Hounds through the Ruef era. This "heritage of toleration" boded poorly for prohibition in San Francisco, and in fact San Franciscans voted heavily against every state prohibition proposition that appeared on the ballot. San Francisco's huge wet vote defeated state prohibition measures in 1855 and 1916.⁵ San Francisco wets dominated the state legislature until reapportionment in 1911 diluted the power of San Francisco legislators.

Although the Eighteenth Amendment mandated prohibition on a national level in 1920, San Franciscans continued to register their distaste for prohibition at the ballot box. San Francisco's overwhelmingly negative vote was instrumental in defeating yet another state prohibition measure, the Harris bill, in 1920. When the Harris bill appeared on the ballot again in 1922 and was approved by California voters, San Franciscans voted against it by a three-to-one margin (91,000 No votes to 32,000 Yes votes).⁶ In an unsuccessful 1926 attempt to repeal the Harris law San Franciscans voted 85,000 for repeal to 30,000 against.⁷

Nor did prohibitionists gain any support from city government in San Francisco: The San Francisco Board of Supervisors maintained an open hostility toward prohibition enforcement throughout the twenties. In 1921, for instance, the board reprimanded two police captains for actively enforcing prohibition laws and in 1926 the Board passed a resolution which opposed any use of city or county police for the enforcement of prohibition.⁸

In addition to San Francisco's Barbary Coast tradition, the city's ethnic makeup also worked against prohibition enforcement. In 1910, the population of San Francisco was 68 percent foreign born or the children of foreign born;⁹ though that figure had dropped by 1920, the foreign born, coupled with those having at

least one foreign-born parent, still accounted for nearly 64 percent of the population.¹⁰ Of the San Francisco foreign born, the Italians at 16.0 percent, the Germans at 12.4 percent, and the Irish at 12.2 percent were the most significant groups.¹¹ Since the prohibition movement in Europe had never enjoyed great success (except for some notable victories in England, Finland, and the Scandinavian countries)¹² members of the ethnic population of San Francisco could not be expected to have brought with them to the New World a great national heritage of support for prohibition.

It is important to remember also that San Francisco was a Catholic city (Catholics accounted for some 116,000 of the 143,000 churchgoers in the first decade of the twentieth century.)¹³ The prohibition movement in the United States was not only heavily "native" and rural, but also overwhelmingly Protestant. (Indeed, Robert K. Murray quotes one nativist Protestant as saying, "Prohibition is part of our religion.")¹⁴ Since the typical San Franciscan was neither "native" nor rural nor Protestant, he was a doubtful candidate for membership in the prohibition cause and an obvious target for the hostility of nativist prohibitionists. Prohibitionists often assumed that "all bootleggers were foreigners and that the wet areas of the nation were mainly populated by the foreign-born."¹⁵

attitude of the public had begun to shift by 1923, and by 1924 there were numerous indications that the popularity of prohibition had begun to erode. U.S. congressmen made the first significant attempt to modify prohibition on a national level in 1924 by introducing fifty-nine bills in the House of Representatives calling for the legalization of low-alcohol (2.75 percent) beer.¹⁶ Nineteen twenty-four was also a presidential election year, and there was furious debate at the Democratic National Convention over the prohibition issue. One of the party's strongest candidates, Al Smith, was eliminated from the nomination in large part because his "wet" stand on the prohibition issue made him unacceptable to the rural, Protestant wing of the party.¹⁷

At the international level, the United States was forced in 1924 to negotiate a series of treaties which extended American territorial waters from three miles to twelve.¹⁸ U.S. authorities hoped this move would enable them to deal more effectively with the "rum fleet"—a flotilla of ships which had assembled just beyond the three-mile limit for the purpose of dispensing illegal liquor to thirsty Americans. Intense rum-running in 1924 also made increased appropriations for the Coast Guard necessary.

In New York, an epidemic of bootleg poisonings sparked editorials all over the county, as did the conviction of William H. Anderson, superintendent of the New York Anti-Saloon League, on two counts of third degree forgery.¹⁹ But most damaging to the cause of prohibition in 1924 was the growing public sentiment that prohibition had fueled a

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Nineteen twenty-four was a pivotal year in the American experiment with prohibition. Though prohibition had enjoyed considerable support during the war years and early twenties, the

San Francisco Chronicle
photo published October 7, 1924

“crime wave” which was devastating the county. That year, horrified newspaper readers from across the nation followed the progress of what amounted to a liquor war between the Ku Klux Klan and bootleggers in Williamson County, Illinois. Violence and murder became so pervasive in Williamson County that the state militia occupied the county for much of the year.²⁰

Another war, Al Capone's "beer war," was also inaugurated in 1924 with the gangster slaying of Dion O'Banion in his Chicago florist shop. In the five years which followed 1924, as Al Capone ruthlessly consolidated his power base, an average of between 350 and 400 murders and 100 bombings occurred in Cook County, Illinois, each year.²¹ The New York liquor wars may have been worse, as the likes of Jack ("Legs") Diamond, Dutch Schultz, and Meyer Lansky sent perhaps a thousand gangsters and bootleggers to their deaths.²² This pattern of gangster liquor and vice and gangster-orchestrated violence was repeated in cities throughout the Midwest and East.

The situation in San Francisco for the same period is intriguing because gangsterism was not a factor in criminal liquor activity there. San Franciscans had always seemed willing to put up with a certain amount of vice if only because vice seemed to be an inescapable component of a vital, sophisticated urban center. According to Merrit Barnes, "The result of this 'understanding' attitude toward crime was a tacit agreement among city officials that the vice which existed in San Francisco would be a 'home industry' presided over by local residents." Local vice

[illegible]

was so well organized in San Francisco that even Al Capone was reported to have decided that the crime scene there was too tough for an outsider to break into—a circumstance which “permitted San Francisco to avoid the horrors of gangland violence so common in cities like Chicago and New York in the same years.”²³ Unfortunately, the San Francisco criminal element proved to be uncommonly adept at producing not only “home industry” vice, but a degree of home-industry violence as well.

Some insight into the attitude of San Francisco's Irish-American community toward prohibition may be

gained by looking at that community's newspaper, *The Leader*. Though Irish nationalism was its main concern, *The Leader* also carried vociferous denunciations of prohibition. In its 19 January 1924 issue, *The Leader* ran the following editorial:

Where, we ask, is that millennium so confidently predicted for us with the advent of National Prohibition? Were we to believe what the advocates and champions of the law say for it today we would also have to believe that our jails are empty, that crime has decreased, that everywhere the beneficial effects of the law are to be seen in a happier, more law-abiding and more moral people. . . .

In a subsequent issue, *The Leader*

quoted at length from a speech made by Representative O.J. Kvale of Minnesota (who had won his seat from none other than Andrew Volstead, author of the national prohibition enforcement act). Kvale charged that the Volstead Act had enacted into law "a double standard of morality—one for the rich and another for the poor."²⁴ *The Leader* also purred with pleasure when the Anti-Saloon League's William H. Anderson was sent to Sing Sing on a forgery conviction ("thus another sometime shining light of Volsteadism is extinguished").²⁵ *The Leader* included Abraham Lincoln's views on prohibition ("prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance"), and claimed that "were the Great Emancipator living today his voice would be raised against this insidious attack upon the liberty of the American citizen."²⁶ If *The Leader's* views were representative of San Francisco's Irish-American community the impact on prohibition enforcement could be significant, the more so since there were large numbers of Irish-Americans on San Francisco's police force.

Chinatown played an important role in San Francisco's prohibition story because of its high visibility, and because of the fascination which that community held for outsiders. To the nonresident, Chinatown was a place associated with mystery, intrigue, crime, and vice. Formidable language and cultural barriers, together with an understandable resentment among residents toward gawking herds of tourists, were the most likely factors which created Chinatown's "air of mystery." Although Chinatown, like any other community, was burdened with its

share of crime and vice, unlike other communities this aspect of Chinatown had historically been nurtured and often manufactured for the credulous tourist. Chinatown's famed "opium dens," for instance, which had been popular with tourists since the 1870s, were often fakes maintained by the Chinatown Guides Association.²⁷ By the twenties, speakeasies had joined opium dens on the itineraries of whites slumming in Chinatown.

Though it is difficult to know what conditions were like in Chinatown during the twenties, prohibition probably enjoyed less than fervid support there. The news stories that did make their way out of Chinatown were tantalizing. In October, 1924, for instance, federal and city agents raided the San Jose Bar in Chinatown and found a number of intriguing items, including quantities of liquor, "Police Officer James Mahoney's service pistol . . . and other items linking the police to the liquor conditions there."²⁸ The matter was considered serious enough to be taken up by the grand jury then in session.

When Chinatown's Sing Fat bazaar was raided in November, prohibition agents recovered quantities of liquor and opium. Tong Bong, owner of Sing Fat, claimed that prohibition agents had recovered more than that and had helped themselves to other merchandise in the store.²⁹ The next day handbills signed by the "Association of Traitor Killers" appeared in Chinatown, which threatened retribution against five Chinese informers who had been responsible for bringing "outsiders" to Sing Fat's. The handbill made it clear that ". . . their evil

deeds are now known. So now we distribute these warnings, that our Chinese people may know their doom is decreed; they are inhuman."³⁰

Prohibition agents had never made much of an attempt to foster good relations with Chinatown and had made slighting remarks about Chinese in local papers. *The San Francisco Call* and *Post*, for instance, ran a story on a prohibition raid in which one of the agents was quoted as saying, "These birds are like the Chinks. As soon as one place is 'knocked over' the others are tipped off and quit dealing."³¹ Such statements did little to endear prohibition agents to the San Francisco Chinese.

Even the San Francisco Jewish community ran afoul of prohibition laws in 1924 in a bizarre controversy over the use of sacramental wines. In January, 120 Jews "representative of every group of Jewry—reform, conservative, and orthodox met in San Francisco to 'suppress the activities of fake congregations and pseudo rabbis, whose only purpose was to profit by abuse of sacramental wine privileges.'" According to the *Call*, these representatives unanimously condemned "the practice of so-called 'mushroom congregations,'" whose main attraction to the faithful seemed to be the availability of sacramental wines.³²

By March, an agreement had been worked out between State Prohibition Director Samuel F. Rutter and B'nai B'rith which cut the number of Jewish wine permits and required that a Jewish subcommittee approve all wine permits requested by Jewish congregations. Apparently this agreement was not totally satisfactory, because in April Rabbi Richard Baer of the Congregation Beth

The cast of characters in the Eddie Marron case.

San Francisco Chronicle
photo published October 12, 1924

Israel of Oakland came up for trial on bootlegging charges—the first of ten rabbis charged with Volstead Act violations. Baer admitted that he had sold the wine, but insisted that he had not disposed of it illegally. Though the jury agreed and acquitted him, “Rabbi Baer said that he would never become the rabbi of another congregation where his duties would involve the care of the synagogue’s wine cellar.”³³

By June, Rutter was denying wine permits to all rabbis until they submitted congregation lists. In September, in a story headlined **RABBIS FACING U.S. RUM QUIZ**, The *San Francisco Chronicle* noted the arrival in San Francisco of Lawrence Hufty of the federal prohibition offices in Washington, D.C. The purpose of Hufty’s visit was to help Rutter “weed out the dishonest rabbis in time to distribute wine removal permits so that orthodox Jewish congregations will have their sacramental wine in time for the Hebrew New Year, September 28.”³⁴

Though sacramental-wine permits were a headache for prohibition authorities, they were only a small part of the very large problem represented by the northern California wine industry. Wine had long been extremely important in California’s economy—a State Board of Viticultural Commissioners had been established by the legislature in 1880³⁵—but it was widely believed that the advent of national prohibition in 1920 would lead to the death of the California wine industry.

Instead, demand for California wine grapes increased by 125 percent between 1920 and 1926³⁶ because of a loophole in the Volstead Act which allowed for homemade

Suspects and Attorneys in Graft Scandal

ATTORNEY EUGENE COHEN
JAMES A. HAYES
CLARENCE MORRIS, ALIAS EUGENE HARRIS
SUB SCHMIDT

CHARLES MAHONEY
ATTORNEY HUGH L. SMITH
EDDIE MARRON
GEORGE SPRINK
BIRDALL

With two arrests Friday night and five more yesterday, Federal investigators created a sensation in the investigation into police-rum-graft intimations contained in the “little grey ledgers” of a bootlegging establishment at 1249 Polk street.

Graft Confession In Police Liquor Case Is Rumored

(Continued From Page 1, Column 1)
Morning, October 12, at 10 o'clock. Cohen gave a \$5000 bond stand by relative, while Schmidt, Hayes and Smith gave \$5000 bond each, furnished by the Fidelity and Casualty Company of Maryland. The hearing before Krull was interrupted when the Commissioner demanded to know why the other defendants were not before him. Federal deputy marshals explained that they would be arraigned later. It was learned that late the night before Mahoney had been taken into custody and, at the very time Kieween, Schmidt, Hayes and Smith were giving bail, was cleared for two hours with Chief Investigator Ottedahl across the street from the Federal building.

And at the very same time it was rumored about the Federal building that “somebody” had confessed, and was laying bare to Ottedahl the entire machinery of the bootlegging ring and the system of police graft collection. Late yesterday afternoon here was added significance to the coincidence of Mahoney’s conference with Ottedahl and the news of “leak” when Mahoney was again taken before the Federal investigator, and it was rumored a few moments later that additional war-ents were to be sworn out and today arrests made before the night was over.

Shortly after the arraignment of the four men above named, Ator-

Indianans Hear Davis Flay G.O.P. Candidate Opens Mid-West Election Drive

INDIANAPOLIS, Oct. 12.—John W. Davis, Republican nominee for President, landed here yesterday, his visit and Indiana again before arriving here, according to the population of the Republican party.

wine.³⁷ The ironic end result was that prohibition caused a disastrous *overproduction* of wine grapes by the mid-twenties. Rather than letting excess grapes go to waste, California vineyardists often chose to turn them into wine, which had to be stored at winery warehouses under Prohibition Department bond. If a vineyardist was caught selling this wine illegally, his entire stock was subject to confiscation. As the amount of wine stored in California warehouses increased (from 17,000,000 gallons in 1920 to 40,000,000 in 1924) so did the temptation to sell some of it.³⁸ The illegal selling of wine from warehouses in the northern counties

had become so widespread by the fall of 1924 that U.S. Attorney Alma M. Myers declared that the government would “definitely stop the large traffic that is illegally proceeding in bonded wines” by seizing some 500,000 gallons of wine from warehouses in the Sonoma, Pajaro, Napa, and Livermore valleys.³⁹

The considerable enforcement problems presented by wine making and bootlegging in the northern counties (W.R. Paget, Rutter’s chief agent for these counties, claimed that the bribing of public officials by liquor interests there had made his agents the “laughing stock” of area bootleggers)⁴⁰ meant that large num-

bers of federal agents had to be posted in this area even though they were sorely needed in San Francisco. Paget, in fact, estimated that two percent of the population of San Francisco was in the bootlegging business:

*San Francisco bootleggers are arrested at the rate of about 600 a month, according to Paget's figures. In a period extending over two years more than 14,000 bootleggers have been taken into custody. Fourteen thousand, Paget explains, is just two percent of this city's 700,000 population.*⁴¹

Statistics quoted in the 1925 *Anti-Saloon League Year Book*, from information provided by the World League Against Alcoholism, show a dramatic increase in arrests for intoxication in San Francisco from 1,800 in 1920, to 7,700 by 1923.⁴²

Assemblyman T.M. Wright of San Jose, author of the Wright Act, believed that San Francisco was not only the wettest spot in California, but one of the three wettest cities in the country. New York and Chicago were the other two. Wright was also of the opinion that it would take ten years to make California as dry as it ought to be.⁴³ Governor Friend W. Richardson made one of the gloomiest assessments, and the Anti-Saloon League included it in its 1924 *Year Book*:

The United States government alone can prevent liquor importation. We need naval forces to do it. California has a seacoast of 800 miles on the west and a border of the Mexican republic needing a guard. The government also grants permits to manufacture alcohol in this state and complaints have been made of lax methods and questionable sales. This is due to a temporary lag in public sen-

*timent following the passage of the Wright act last year [1922], partly to indifference of county and city officials and partly to the character of some of the men holding government positions.*⁴⁴

Most of San Francisco's quality hard liquor came from Canada. Large, ocean-going vessels were loaded with cases of liquor in Vancouver and then steamed south down the coast—being careful to stay in international waters. These ships would take up station once they were in the vicinity of San Francisco, and small boats would come out to pick up the liquor and bring it back to shore. The favorite port of debarkation for this illegal import seemed to be Half Moon Bay, a sleepy town in San Mateo County within easy driving distance of San Francisco. After several spectacular shoot-outs at Half Moon Bay in the mid-twenties, however, unloading operations moved further south.

Rum ships such as the *Ardenza* and the *Prince Albert* became well-known to San Franciscans, and newspaper articles would inform readers when these old friends were back in the vicinity. Cases of captured liquor often bore the stamps of these ships. For instance, when Joseph Maniscalco, "the 'hooch' purveyor for San Francisco's elite," was apprehended, he was driving a truck containing ninety-nine cases of Scotch with *Ardenza* stamped on the side of each case.⁴⁵

The responsibility for keeping California water safe from these ships lay with the Coast Guard, which bravely announced in April of 1924 the formation of an "anti-booze navy":

Spurred by mammoth booze-running activities on San Francisco Bay, local Coast Guard officials yesterday called upon all the resources granted them by Congress for the establishment of an "anti-booze navy."

Arrangements were made for the enrollment of scores of temporary officers and enlisted men, the outfitting of navy torpedo boats now lying idle at San Diego, and the purchase of the necessary armament to drive the rum-runners from the bay district.

*The "new navy" will set forth with orders to make San Francisco "tight as a drum."*⁴⁶

Though much was made of how potent this new anti-booze navy was going to be (two rum chasers were launched in November, and their speed was classified as "secret"),⁴⁷ an effective patrol of California's huge coastline would require a considerably greater expenditure of resources than the Coast Guard could muster.

In reality, rum patrol aboard a Coast Guard cutter like the *Shawnee*, which patrolled the waters around San Francisco, was usually a combination of frustration and nervousness, with only an occasional apprehension. Every unidentified ship must have been suspected as a rumrunner after a while, so it should come as no surprise that in December the *Shawnee* sent five shots across the bow of an unidentified ship which turned out to be the U.S. submarine S-9.⁴⁸ Earlier in the month, another Coast Guard ship had fired six shots at an Army Corps of Engineers' boat which was being used to inspect dredging operations near the Golden Gate. The *Chronicle* dubbed this engagement the "Battle of Golden Gate."⁴⁹

San Francisco Examiner
photo published October 11, 1924

The *Shawnee's* finest hour came in October, 1924, when she captured the Canadian rum ship *Quadra* with 12,000 cases of liquor. The *Quadra* had ventured to within five miles of the Farallon Islands, apparently to take on fuel. The *Shawnee* surprised and then captured the *Quadra* and arrested her crew. The *Quadra* was then towed into San Francisco with a large escort of boats that had arrived too late to purchase liquor.⁵⁰

The *Quadra* case quickly took on international implications. The *Quadra* was owned by Consolidated Exporters, Ltd., of Vancouver, British Columbia. This firm was believed to be operating ten to thirteen other rum ships, including the *Malahat* and the *Principio*.⁵¹ The case was added to the slate of the federal grand jury then in session. By November, the grand jury had indicted fifty persons involved in the *Quadra* case, including the crew and the twenty-seven directors of the Consolidated Exporters Corporation. One of the directors indicted, Frederick R. Anderson, was in San Francisco at the time and had to post a \$10,000 bail.⁵²

There was a tremendous uproar in Canada over the *Quadra* affair. A.M. Manson, Attorney-General for British Columbia, stated that American prohibition authorities had "gone a little too far,"⁵³ and an article in the *Chronicle* under the headline ANDERSON CASE STIRS CANADA took note of the mood of the Canadian press:

An afternoon paper carries a dispatch from Ottawa to the effect that the San Francisco Federal Grand Jury indicting affair is bringing to a crux a gradually strengthening movement throughout the Dominion to show that Canada has been

[illegible]

*too freely used as an instrument to aid the United States in its efforts to enforce prohibition. . . . A number of leading newspapers here are protesting that not one cent of Canadian taxpayers' money should be spent to enforce prohibition in the United States.*⁵⁴

At the end of November, Frederick Anderson jumped bail and turned up in Vancouver, where he was treated like a "hero in his own home town."⁵⁵ Anderson delivered an impassioned speech, the tone of which seemed to suggest that Americans had arrested him solely because he was a Canadian citizen, to a cheering crowd assembled in front of his house: "I will not back down

an inch. In the interest of other Canadians as well as myself, who might receive unjust treatment at the hands of American authorities as I did, I swear to you that I will stand by my guns. . . ."⁵⁶

According to the *Chronicle*, sentiment in British Columbia was "highly in favor of making the United States apologize for having arrested Anderson and paying him for his loss of time, with the alternative of the Canadians' refusal to further consider a treaty that Washington is preparing to prevent rum-running from the Dominion."⁵⁷

The Grand Jury which indicted Anderson had originally been as-

sembled to investigate the scandalous Eddie Marron affair. Eddie Marron, an ex-Assemblyman, operated a restaurant in San Francisco which was raided by federal prohibition agents in October 1924. Agents found \$50,000 worth of liquor at Marron's restaurant, but a little item found at Marron's apartment was what really raised eyebrows around San Francisco. It was a gray ledger book in which Eddie Marron kept a meticulous record of his expenses—all his expenses. Nestled in among such innocent entries as "lemons—40¢," and "cigars—\$6.50," were entries like "police—\$100," and weekly entries of "Kissane—\$5"⁵⁸ The patrolman whose beat included Marron's restaurant was named Patrick Kissane.

Police Chief Patrick O'Brien immediately announced an investigation, which was quickly overshadowed by a federal investigation led by Alf Oftedal, Chief of the Secret Service in San Francisco. Oftedal began to gather evidence for the Grand Jury, and federal agents arrested Patrick Kissane on a charge of conspiracy "without taking Police Department heads into their confidence."⁵⁹

Once the rock had been turned over, some very unsavory details began to come to light. Rumors coming out of Oftedal's investigation included reports that "alleged bootleggers are said to have told Oftedal the scale for police protection was becoming 'oppressive,'" that there were graft activities in police districts other than the Bush Street Station where Kissane worked, and that there were missing pages in Marron's ledger. These pages were reported to contain the names of fed-

eral prohibition agents.⁶⁰

Seven people were eventually arrested. Besides Marron and Kissane, George Birdsall (Marron's "paymaster"), Charles Mahoney (a bartender at Marron's restaurant), Police Sergeant Joseph Gorham of the Bush Street Station, Ward Marron (Eddie's brother), and Police Sergeant Aloysius I. O'Brien of the North End Station were also arrested. Public attention was shifting away from the suspects, however, to a feud which was heating up between San Francisco police and federal prohibition agents.

On October 23, the captains of the twelve police districts together made a "vehement denial that evidence of collusion between police and bootleggers existed in their districts," and claimed that they had "thoroughly cleaned up their precincts of bootleggers." Police Captain Arthur D. Layne went further and charged federal officials with laxity. Layne claimed to have named a number of bootlegging establishments to Oftedal but

*[S]ome of them were closed; others were not proceeded against. . . . The keepers of these places are well-known local politicians who claim friendship for those in control of Federal abatement proceedings and this fact was made known to those officials. Yet, no action has been taken to close them, that I can learn of.*⁶¹

The next day, under headlines announcing WAR ON BOOTLEGGERS OPENS, Prohibition Director Samuel Rutter seemed to be declaring war on Layne and the San Francisco Police Department instead. Rutter charged that half of all the bootleg-

gers in San Francisco were in Captain Layne's district; that this district had given the prohibition forces more trouble than any other district in San Francisco, and that the police were better able to suppress the open sale of liquor than the Federal officers, but that they were not doing it and were not cooperating with the prohibition office.⁶²

When Layne emerged from this confrontation with Rutter and told reporters, "Lord help the bootleggers from now on!" it was uncertain whether he was being ironic or not.

On January 14, 1925, Eddie Marron and four others were found guilty: Eddie Marron was sentenced to two years in federal prison and fined \$10,000; Police Sergeant Joseph Gorham, two years in federal prison and \$2,500; Policeman Patrick Kissane, two years in federal prison and \$1,000; George Birdsall, thirteen months in federal prison and \$1,000 fine; and Charles Mahoney was fined \$500.⁶³ Perhaps more significant than the verdicts was the speed with which this case came to trial. By the end of 1924, there were more than 2,500 Volstead Act cases awaiting trial in San Francisco's federal courts.⁶⁴

The court system for handling prohibition cases in California was two-tiered. Since there was both a state law (the Wright Act), and a federal law (the Volstead Act) which pertained to prohibition violations, a defendant tried and fined in state court would typically have the charges against him dropped by the federal court, probably to prevent complaints of "double jeopardy" from defendants. State courts, however, almost always imposed much lighter fines than did the federal

Arthur Layne and Samuel Rutter
declare war on bootleggers
—or is it each other?

San Francisco Chronicle
photo published October 24, 1924

courts, and a case in September, 1924, in which a couple had been fined \$10 each in a state court for a prohibition violation carrying a maximum federal penalty of \$1,000 each and eighteen months in jail, precipitated an angry reaction from Federal Judge Frank H. Kerrigan. Upset because state courts were not cooperating in the new "get tough" approach of federal courts toward dry violations, Kerrigan stated that "aside from failing to receive the co-operation of the judges of the state courts, it was his intention to confer with Judge [John S.] Partridge and that probably they would decide to henceforth refuse to dismiss cases, even if the defendants had been in the same courts on the same charge."⁶⁵

Judge Kerrigan was the judge for those electing not to have a trial, and Judge Partridge was the trial judge. The strategy they formulated in April to discourage bootlegging was to accept only guilty pleas and to levy large fines if defendants elected to be tried by Kerrigan, while Partridge would sentence the guilty to prison rather than levy a fine. Said Judge Partridge:

This bootleg ring has played fast and loose with the United States Government just as long as it is going to. . . .

Bootlegging has become a scandal throughout the United States and a stench in the nostrils of decent people—to the extent that I would not be surprised at all to see an explosion at any time.

*If it has come down to a showdown between this criminal ring, which is largely made up of bootleggers and dope peddlers, and the Government of the United States, I propose to try out which is the stronger.*⁶⁶

Adding insult to injury, many lower-court judges appeared as lawyers for bootleggers in federal court. The *Examiner* noted, "It would seem the merest dictate of personal and legal ethics that if lower-court judges must practice law in person, they should avoid that practice which, outstandingly at the present time, represents the most outright and dangerous attack upon the integrity of the thing they are under oath to uphold."⁶⁷

By October, bootleggers had decided that the way to deal with the Kerrigan-Partridge "get tough" strategy was for everyone to demand a jury trial. This could clog the

already congested court calendar: *Because of a series of "not guilty" pleas entered yesterday the court set down for trial next Monday the cases of nine bootleggers, most of whose trials will consume at least two days. The regular calendar, it was pointed out, already contains the names of hundreds of defendants who, through their attorneys, have signified their intention to go to trial if the new schedule of fines is continued.*⁶⁸ In January, 1925, two more judges were appointed to help Kerrigan and Partridge with their case loads.⁶⁹

Getting a bootlegger into court was one thing, but getting a conviction was a different story. Incompetence, corruption, and a disregard

for the procedures of lawful evidence collecting were characteristic of many federal prohibition agents. As a result many cases never got to court or were thrown out once they did. In March, 1924, Samuel F. Rutter and eight other agents and former agents were subpoenaed by a federal Grand Jury meeting in Los Angeles to answer charges of illegal wiretapping to gain evidence against bootleggers.⁷⁰ That same month, Judge Frank Kerrigan had to suffer the humiliation of returning \$18,000 worth of seized liquor to its owner because prohibition agents had neglected to obtain a search warrant. To make matters worse, some of the liquor had disappeared in the meantime.⁷¹

Corruption and incompetence among federal prohibition officials in San Francisco had reached alarming proportions by 1924. In June, charges were filed against U.S. Attorney John T. Williams which included "misconduct and laxity in the prosecution of bootleggers and drug vendors, constituting malfeasance and misfeasance."⁷² The *Examiner* reported that the investigation had been prompted by bail bond brokers Peter P. and Thomas J. McDonough, who believed Williams was in collusion with a rival bail bond company.⁷³ Williams was forced to resign. In September, John R. Smith, Rutter's chief clerk, was summarily suspended on orders from Washington. As head of the prohibition department's clerical force, Smith had the power to issue liquor permits. It was Smith's "usage of his power to issue permits for transportation and possession of liquor in the San Francisco bay district" which had come under the scrutiny of the

U.S. Treasury Department and had resulted in his suspension.⁷⁴

The illegal activities of former agents were impressively numerous. Many agents saw their tenure with the Bureau of Prohibition as an opportunity to hone their skills at bootlegging and blackmailing and went into business for themselves as soon as they left the bureau. In January, E.J. Black and George Vucinich, two former prohibition agents, were accused of "wholesale blackmailing of bootleggers." It was alleged that these two had made liquor purchases in at least sixty-eight places in Hayward, Emeryville, Tracy, and Stockton and had then "extorted funds for 'protection' totalling thousands of dollars." The rubes of Emeryville were an especially lucrative source of income for Black and Vucinich, who had "entertained a score of Emeryville bootleggers at a banquet at an Oakland hotel," and then had told their guests that "they had been trapped" and that their release was dependent on arranging for "the regular payment of tribute."⁷⁵

When prohibition agents smashed through the steel doors of the Lambs Club, "one of the most luxuriously fitted bootlegging establishments ever found by dry squads on the coast," they found a receipt in the cash register from J.G. Pearce for the Pearce Service Bureau. Pearce was a former prohibition agent and, according to Samuel Rutter, the "service" which Pearce provided was a guarantee to "protect bootleggers, notify them of raids, when prohibition agents were working in their district and to secure bonds immediately for them in case of arrest."

Also recovered from the Lambs

Club raid was a membership book with 3,000 names, among them "many prominent San Francisco business men and persons well known on the stage."⁷⁶ Such membership lists often turned up: a raid on the French Club which produced "a big ledger, containing the names of 200 leading citizens, brokers, and prominent professional men."⁷⁷ In the apartment of Hugo Mark, a reputed "social bootlegger," agents found a book "containing the names of scores of San Francisco people prominent in the business world, several army officers stationed at the presidio, and one judge."⁷⁸ A raid on the Yosemite Club recovered a membership list with an astonishing 1,600 names, "in the handwriting of the individuals themselves."⁷⁹ That wealthy club members felt secure enough to have put their signatures on such membership lists confirms the widely held view that it was the poor who were arrested for prohibition violations, not the rich.⁸⁰

The most compelling evidence that prohibition was not working in San Francisco but was creating a destructive social atmosphere can be found in the almost daily incidents of liquor violence. Unfortunately, some of the worst violators were prohibition agents themselves. Two prohibition agents were arrested in May, 1924, and charged with trying "to combine with their search for evidence an attempted holdup of Daniel McIsaac, San Mateo county, seriously slashing him during the melee."⁸¹ In August a warrant was issued for the arrest of prohibition agent John H. Vail which charged Vail with the murder of James S. White. White

Liquor violence in the Bay Area.

San Francisco Call and Post
photo published May 14, 1924

had tried to intervene while Vail was beating up a hotel guest during a liquor raid, and Vail had killed him. There was another warrant out for Vail's arrest which accused him of "carrying a blackjack in Siskiyou county in violation of the firearms act."⁸²

The seeming impunity with which rumrunners operated attracted the attention of vigilante groups and produced another source of liquor violence. In July, "Two officers and a citizen were shot and wounded, a booze smuggler is believed to have been wounded and more than 100 shots were fired in a gun battle fought on the Pacific Grove beach before dawn today when rum runners attempted to land a cargo of liquor." As it turned out, most of the shots were fired by rival posses at each other, one posse under Monterey Police Chief E.W.A. Cording, and one manned by Klansmen from Pacific Grove. The raid was conducted at night, and "in the confusion, both sides opened fire on each other and that evoked a volley from the booze smugglers," who thought they were being fired at.⁸³

July, in fact, brought "the worst outbreak of 'liquor violence' known to the Bay district since the advent of prohibition." It was what the *Examiner* called a "booze crime wave." In a single day J.H. Ferris was "dangerously wounded as the result of a gun battle between highjackers and bootleggers near Half Moon Bay," Mrs. Mary Graban, 80, and Miss Christina Jung, 18, "were beaten and bound hand and foot by booze bandits who attempted to loot the winery of the Christian True estate," and prohibition agents took George Howard prisoner "after a

4 Women Injured in Bargain Riot

FINAL HOME EDITION THE SAN FRANCISCO CALL
PUBLISHED DAILY, MONDAY, MAY 14, 1924, AT THE SAN FRANCISCO CALL BUILDING, 100 CALIFORNIA STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. Price 10 Cents

POPE ILL, SECLUDED

S.F. DRYS SLASH VICTIM IN RAID

EIGHT KNIFE WOUNDS IN BODY OF CAFE MAN MUTE EVIDENCE OF STRUGGLE

SUN, RULER JAM CAUSES OF CHINA, IS DEAD PANIC IN STORE

10 FLIGHT AIDS DIE IN STORM

Underwood Quits Kentucky Race in Favor of McAdoo

KEARNS GIRL ATTACK CHARGE UNDER PROBE

Chinatown Scoffs San Death Rumor

ELENORE MEHERIN

THE FLAPPER and the Delinquent Idea of House Life

THE CALL

Date and Title Tomorrow

Mrs. Harris, Free, Charges Plot in Arrest as Forger

STATE LOSES BY 'ECONOMY' YOUNG

Muscle Shoals Vote At Present Session

COLLEAGUES ABSOLVE WHEELER

NEWS DOWN TO THE LAST MINUTE

ALABAMA WIVES KIDNAP SUIT

WASHINGTON, May 14.—By wire to the Associated Press.

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DELAY JAP BAN, NEW COOLIDGE DEMAND, CONGRESS DEFERS

WASHINGTON, May 14.—A sensational report that the cabinet had decided to delay a bill to ban Japanese immigration until after the next session of Congress has been received here.

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skirmish in which two of the smugglers returned their fire and escaped."⁸⁴

By the end of the year Consolidated Distilleries was back in operation with two liquor ships lying off the north and central coasts of California. In anticipation of an attempt to land the liquor, the highways leading up and down the north coast were guarded by prohibition agents who were "heavily armed and ready to give battle to the rum runners." As for the rumrunners, they were also "heavily armed and have warned the prohibition agents, according to [prohibition agent A.R.] Shurtleff, that they will either get

'booze or blood.'"⁸⁵

On the last day of the year, the *Chronicle* reported that rumors that the *Malahat* had landed her liquor near San Simeon had been the motive for "the holdup of several motorists on the Castroville and Salinas highway by gangs of men armed with sawed-off shotguns." Two rival gangs of hijackers were apparently trying to intercept the *Malahat's* cargo, and had "stationed themselves at strategic points along the highways," and were "searching automobiles at the point of a gun."⁸⁶

It was time for another gala New Year's Eve in San Francisco. □

See notes on pages 314-315.

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REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas.

By John M. Findlay. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 272 pp., \$19.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Steven M. Gelber, Santa Clara University

John M. Findlay's book is somewhat misleadingly subtitled "Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas." In fact Findlay focuses on the relationship between gambling and the frontier and almost two thirds of the book is devoted to California and Nevada. The more general issue implied in his subtitle still needs to be addressed by some scholar and Findlay's thoroughly researched and gracefully written work will surely be a major contribution to that as yet unwritten synthesis of gambling in American society.

Unlike the standard histories of gambling in America that are both anecdotal and centered on individuals (usually notorious professional gamblers), *People of Chance* makes a serious attempt to understand the meaning of gambling for Americans in frontier society. Beginning with the conflict between the Puritan Miles Standish and the considerably less than Puritan Thomas Morton and ending with the tensions between residential Las Vegans and their basic industry, Findlay seeks to explain why every frontier region underwent the same evolution from wide open gambling to sedate middle-class society.

Andrew Jackson enunciated Findlay's basic thesis when he wrote to his nephew, "You must risque to win." These words, says Findlay "summed up not merely Jackson's personality and his approach to racing, but in addition the entrepreneurial mood of the entire nation during the Jacksonian era." While Findlay is undoubtedly right that the urge to take risks, especially on the frontier where life itself was a risk, un-



Gambling and whiskey represent twin vices to some, but they are a way of life to others.

doubtedly fed the desire to gamble, he does not make the necessary distinction between simple risk taking and entrepreneurialism. He frequently lumps together gambling, speculation, and businesses that provided actual products and services, although it is clear from the material he presents that Americans themselves distinguished among risk taking ventures. By treating all risky enterprises as equal components of the public mood he leaves unexplored the broader meaning of "chance."

The final chapters on the development of gambling in Nevada may strike some as digressive since much space is given over to an urban history of Las Vegas. Nevertheless, Findlay has some extremely interesting observations about the relationship between the culture of Los Angeles and its sinful suburb, Las Vegas, and his comparison of Disneyland and the modern casinos (both of which began to develop at the same time) puts both of them in a new perspective.

While not the final word on gambling in American society, *People of Chance* has a lot to offer people interested in American culture in general and the history of the West in particular. □

California: A Place, A People, A Dream—A Journey Through California History.

Edited by Claudia Jurmain and James J. Rawls. (San Francisco: The Oakland Museum and Chronicle Books, 1986, 158 pp., \$16.95 paper.)

Reviewed by J. S. Holliday, former Executive Director of the Oakland Museum and of the California Historical Society and author of *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*.

In 1982 I met with representatives of a California and a New York publisher who were considering joint publication of a history of the Golden State. In the course of exploration, the New York publisher produced a computer print-out of books in print under the heading "California—History." The total came to 296. Given the state's astonishing history and contemporary impact, I would not have been surprised at 396. In any case, that total and other consid-

erations influenced the New York publisher to abandon the idea.

Other publishers have judged California's appeal more realistically. Each year since 1982 (like every year since 1849) several new books on California—its history, its contemporary scene—have been published. One of the most recent is *California: A Place, A People, A Dream* published in August, 1986, by the Oakland Museum and Chronicle Books of San Francisco. The fact that two such creative organizations joined forces predetermined, it seems to me, that their book would be rewardingly different from its 296-plus fellows.

To insure that result, the publishers formed an alliance of talented Californians: the curator of the History Division at the Oakland Museum, the museum's professional exhibit designers, and five distinguished writers. Together they produced a big, bold book to serve as both a guide for visitors to the Cowell Hall of History at the Oakland Museum and as a source of new ideas about California history for the general reader.

First, consider the text, which consists of four essays and narrative captions for the hundreds of color photographs. Kevin Starr leads off with "California: The Dream" in which he analyzes why and how "of all the states in the union, only California has attached to its identity the concept of a dream." He emphasizes that with all its natural assets, California has been remarkably dependent on technology, so much so that the state is "the single most highly engineered environment on the planet." He considers the influence of boosterism, Hollywood, and television in shaping the California Dream, which he sees "as an important regionalized response to the larger promise of America."

In the next essay, "California: A Place," James Houston is concerned with geography and psychology—"the place on the continent and the place in the mind." He considers the place's blessings—gold, oil, rich soils, sunshine—and how they have nurtured

the image of the Golden State. He admonishes that California is "a land of two promises, where abundant possibilities and a potential for disaster live side by side."

In "California: A People," Charles Wollenberg studies the demographic realities which have created in California "the largest and most ethnically diverse population in the nation." He recounts how San Francisco developed as a city of immigrants and Los Angeles has become the Ellis Island of the late twentieth century. In looking to the future, Wollenberg forecasts that "by the early twenty-first century California should be the first mainland state with a majority of minorities. . . . We will all be members of one or another minority, for there will be no majority group in California."

In the final essay, James Rawls sums up the changing promises which have given the California Dream its compelling attraction: opportunity and success, warmth and sunshine, spectacular natural beauty, health and sex and freedom, and California as the harbinger of the American future. With those promises Rawls emphasizes the paradoxes. "The image of California as a land of opportunity becomes the cause of California's multiple tragedies. The gold rush syndrome—high hopes, soon dashed—makes California especially susceptible to the appeal of crackpot schemes. . . . Even California's climate is at fault—all that warmth and sunshine attracts emotionally unwrapped people to the state." Drugs, alcoholism, suicides, rampant immorality, and unconventional sexual behavior attract intense publicity and cause California to be seen "no longer as a land of health but as a dark precinct of social pathology."

Then there is the paradox of growth. Since the gold rush era, growth has been judged the measure of the state's success, climaxed by the celebration of "Population Day" in 1962 when California surpassed New York as the nation's most populous state. But increasingly it

became evident that continued growth would destroy the attractiveness of the Golden State. "Once so proud of its phenomenal growth, California became home to the movement to limit growth." Similarly California has become the primary battleground in the "struggle between the forces of economic development and environmental protection."

Valuable as these enlightening essays are, they are not the distinguishing feature of this "rewardingly different" history of California. The hundreds of color photographs—grouped in three extensive sections between the essays—make possible close-up study of individual objects and elaborate exhibits displayed at the Oakland Museum Cowell Hall of History: an eighteenth century Indian ceremonial cloak made of heron feathers and a 1950s gleaming, customized motorcycle; an 1850s Nevada City gold assay office and a World War II Hunter's Point kitchen. These and hundreds more objects are intended to be as revealing of California's story as are the ideas set forth in the text.

But there is a problem. Looking through the pages of colorful photographs (a brightly painted, mint-new steam tractor; a shining fireman's helmet; a set of freshly laundered shirts; a clean, polished short-handled hoe), seeing everything without a smudge of dirt or a stain of sweat, without flaw or ugliness creates a visual sense of perfection, even of elegance. There is no visual evidence of pain and sorrow, no reminder of the Okies in the 1930s, the Japanese-Americans "relocated" in 1942, the waterfront strikers in San Francisco in 1934, the residents of Watts burned out in August 1965, Caesar Chavez's followers in the strikes of 1970, and all the other Californians who have suffered and even lost faith in the Golden State. The light-hearted tone, the optimism of the text (except for James Rawls' concern with some of the grim realities) and the fresh, clean look

of the photographed objects combine to give this attractive book a celebratory quality which I think is misleading, both as to the history of California and to the original intent and purpose of the book. □

San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development.

By William Issel and Robert W. Cherny. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, xiv, 294 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Ralph Mann, Associate Professor of History at the University of Colorado, and author of After the Gold Rush.

There has been a recent outburst of superior historical scholarship on San Francisco. Issel and Cherny's new book not only ranks with the best of it, but also builds on these new findings and interpretations. The authors add their own research and their wide knowledge of relevant sources to create a very complete political history of San Francisco from the vigilante-based People's Party through the years of Sunny Jim Rolph. The book's ultimate purpose, however, goes beyond simply describing the gaudy events of the City's politics; the authors' intent is to test current theories concerning the locus of urban political power and how that power determines the course of urban development.

Their conclusions will not be entirely comforting to any of the three best known schools of thought—the pluralists, the elitists, and the Marxists—because they argue that power in San Francisco was polarized between organized labor and business groups, both consciously and firmly class and neighborhood based, and both more than willing to use political power in labor disputes. Both sides could or-

ganize effectively, and both sides won major victories. But labor tended to use its power defensively, leaving the agenda of politics to be set by business. With rare exceptions, city governments, regardless of ideology, did not attempt to use their power to influence the direction of urban growth. Privatism prevailed, and capital enjoyed a free hand. Labor failed to use fully its strong union tradition, and divisions among labor leaders seemed more disruptive than those among leading capitalists. While wealth in itself did not automatically convert into political dominance, the wealthy were clear about their common interests well before the workers were. Finally, although labor used politics to demand greater equality, political participation tended to moderate class ideology, and political contact with business spread the values of the middle class among the aspiring working class. Labor firmly believed that opportunity was open, regardless of class or ethnicity, and accepted private enterprise as the best way to take advantage of it.

My quarrels with the book are few. The authors' basic purpose, to test theories of power against San Francisco's experience, sometimes gets lost in the currents of city politics. More im-

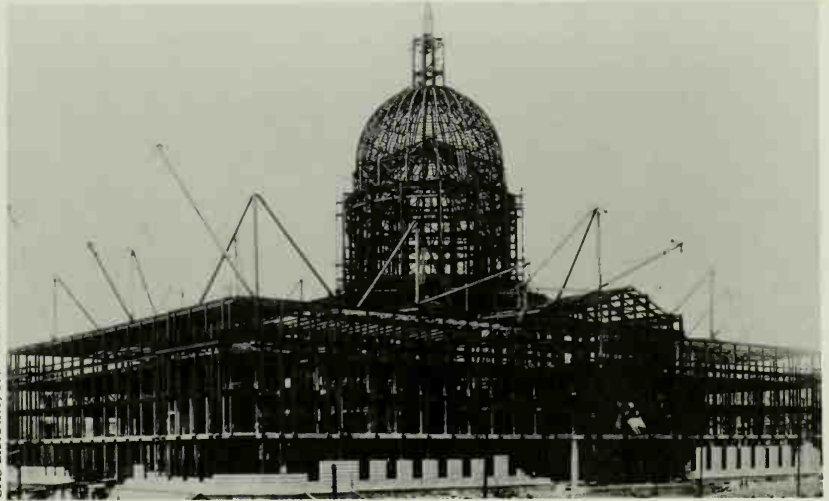
portantly, they make little effort to generalize from this test case to the wider American experience. God forbid that anyone should suggest that San Francisco is typical in any way, but a systematic comparison of the political dynamics of labor and capital in the City with those in other cities, particularly cities that generated the theories under test, would have increased the value of a valuable book. □

The Reapportionment Puzzle.

By Bruce E. Cain. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 191 pp., \$26.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Eugene C. Lee, Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies and Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley.

In 1991, the California legislature will—once again—be torn apart by reapportionment, the decennial requirement that assembly, state senate, and



San Francisco's third city hall, constructed in 1914, is a massive symbol of political power and wealth.

congressional districts be redrawn to conform with population changes. Issues of state policy will be set aside—or held hostage—as legislators attempt to secure their political future and that of their party.

Those who wish to anticipate and understand the politics of redistricting can do no better than read *The Reapportionment Puzzle*. In concise, readable, and at times even entertaining prose, Bruce Cain makes clear why there are no easy solutions to the “puzzle.” A political scientist at the California Institute of Technology and a consultant to the Assembly Election and Reapportionment Committee in 1981, Cain skillfully weaves together the theoretical insights of a scholar and the pragmatic insights of a participant observer.

In the first section of the book, Cain argues persuasively that attempts to depoliticize the redistricting process are doomed to failure. Even the objective requirement that districts be equal in population (Cain quotes foreign scholars as being “baffled by this peculiarly American obsession”) produces districts with widely varying numbers of voters, a factor with enormous political implications. Other “good government” criteria, he suggests, are both ambiguous and inherently inconsistent, for example, promoting inter-party competition and minority representation, while the seeming desirability of preserving local government units founders on the illogicality of many city boundaries.

Any remaining doubts concerning the political nature of reapportionment are dispelled in the second half of the book. In an analytical case study, Cain provides an inside view of events and personalities that shaped the design of Assembly districts in the 1980s. He notes that at an individual level, the objectives of the Speaker of the Assembly and the Reapportionment Committee chair (Willie Brown and Richard Alatorre) were, of necessity, often different from those of the incumbents. Institu-

tional and party interests are not merely the sum total of individual interests, which are dominated above all by “risk aversion,” the incumbent’s desire for stability. The description of the negotiations that featured the resolution of these conflicting personal and institutional demands constitutes one of the most interesting parts of the book. The ambitions, foibles, and political skills of the legislators are revealed in colorful and often humorous detail.

At the beginning of the book, Cain states that “It is most desirable that disagreements in a democracy be limited to issues that do not involve the fundamental rules of the game . . . Disagreement over reapportionment is particularly unsettling because it is about the rules of political conflict.” After examining alternatives as to where this conflict should be resolved, Cain in effect, endorses the status quo: “the procedure that leaves reapportionment in the hands of the legislature is very compatible with the pluralist foundations of American government.” His prescriptions for reform are modest, focusing on the need to reduce the level of secrecy, requiring open and early disclosure of districting plans. Such an approach, he suggests, might lead to a “more tolerant, open way for a polity to resolve its disagreements . . . a considerable achievement in itself.”

One must wonder, however, whether the status quo meets the test of a “fundamental rule.” As Californians approach the 1990s is it sufficient to accept that all other legislative business must be periodically held captive while, as Cain describes it, “incumbents choose their voters so as to increase their chances of winning”? To understand that reapportionment is inherently political does not require an acceptance of existing procedures. Bruce Cain has provided an outstanding analysis of the problem and an important contribution to the debate over the nature of representative democracy. But the debate must continue. □

The Birth of the National Park Service.

By Horace Albright with Robert Cahn. (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985, 350 pp., \$11.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Henry Berrey, president emeritus of the Yosemite Association.

Horace Albright and his collaborator, Pulitzer Prize winner Robert Cahn, have traced carefully the birth of the National Park Service (NPS) from its beleaguered beginnings in 1916 until Albright’s retirement in 1933. From the start, it is clear that with the support and guidance of his boss, Stephen Mather, the Park Service’s first director, Albright dedicated his life to fulfilling the challenge contained in the legislation of 1916 which created the Park Service. . . . “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”

Those who may have found inspiration at the sight of such phenomena as the vast chasm of the Grand Canyon, or have felt awe at the cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde, or have stood in humble silence before the battlefields of Shiloh may little realize the turbulent political events that occurred while Mather and Albright sought to position these national treasures beneath the protective wing of the newly formed service.

Throughout the book, Albright describes the ongoing rivalry between the fledgling NPS and the well-ensconced U.S. Forest Service. A number of sites for proposed parks or monuments were to be carved from Forest Service lands. The fulfillment of these plans were not without rancor, as the Forest Service was well-supported by mining, timber, and grazing interests.

Among the more notable victories recounted here is the squelching of a

protracted effort by powerful interests in Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho to cause the damming of the outlet of Yellowstone to create a reservoir to serve farmers in the three states. Such an act would have rivaled the tragedy of Yosemite's Hetch Hetchy.

Another such engagement arose over the Grand Canyon where Arizona Senator Cameron held numerous mining claims he was anxious to work. After a squabble of twenty-three years, during which Albright, Mather, and the Park Service were vilified, the claims were declared invalid and Cameron's maneuverings put to rest.

While the book's contents are scarcely dull, frequent anecdotal tales liven things up with their humor. Albright recalls that when he was superintendent of Yellowstone, the president of U.S. Steel complained that the quality of fishing in the Madison River was in a sorry state. Albright responded that the river underwent very heavy fishing by park visitors and the only solution to its improvement would be the enlargement of the hatchery. The steelman volunteered to put up the \$27,500 needed for the project. The hatchery was built. In a letter of thanks to the donor, Albright mentioned that he intended to install a small plaque acknowledging the source of the funding. The steelman wrote back, "To hell with the plaque—raise the fish."

The book leaves little doubt that without Albright's patience, skill and dedication and Mather's backing, neither the National Park Service nor the parks themselves would have reached today's state of excellence. □

Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion

By Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, 664 pp., \$39.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Richard Dillon, author of



Borax mining in Death Valley.

many books of Western history, most recently *North Beach and Impressions of Bohemia*.

Many reviewers, particularly academics, seem to be ready to toss such adjectives as "seminal" and "definitive" at almost every book that slides across their desks. They should be alerted to this new title. For once, this large volume, almost encyclopedic in its scope, comes close to filling the bill in terms of definitiveness. And there is no doubt that it will "seed" many other studies, for it is full of new ideas and new information.

The book is, indeed, definitive, but only as an overview of the history of the arid region straddling the California-Nevada border, the Amargosa River country of "great Death Valley." It should not scare off future research by other historians who are interested in the California desert, especially if their focus is not on mining. The latter is ap-

parently the subject of most interest to the author and certainly dominates the text of this volume. He takes us, with the sure hand of an expert, from the early and romanticized Lost Gunsight and Breyfogle mines to the mundane talc and clay works which, in recent times, close out the long story of gold, silver, borax, and other minerals.

Lingenfelter does not really neglect the Argonauts who blundered into the Valley of Death in 1849, nor subsequent explorers and, finally, the writers and conservationists who belatedly discovered the desert's charm. But he does not give their stories as full treatment as he does those of the single-blanket jack-ass prospectors, the mining engineers, and the speculating-promoting con men, like Scotty, who transformed a horrifying name, Death Valley, into a synonym for El Dorado among the greedy of the San Francisco, Chicago, and New York stock exchanges. These bunco artists gave new meaning to the term "mirage" as they made hay out of Death Valley's tradition of illusions.

The author's mining coverage is ex-

emplary, but simple problems of space (even though he deliberately terminates his account with 1933 and Death Valley's national monument status) require the brevity, not haste, with which he covers the eras and subjects which sandwich the desert's mining heyday. In order to make this volume such a marvelous reference and research tool for other historians, he sacrifices almost 200 pages of narrative to appendixes. These include 107 pages of notes; a 26-page index; and a splendid 57-page bibliography incorporating citations to manuscripts as well as to primary and secondary print (and near-print) sources—theses, newspaper stories and magazine articles, books, and government documents. Since much of the balance of the text is taken up with mining—the often-illusory search for riches (hence his sub-title)—there is a squeeze on exploration and other subjects.

There are a few flaws in even the best book. Some readers would trade all of this volume's small, specialized, maps for one general—and *clear*—map of the Death Valley area, perhaps conveniently bled across the endpapers, in order to get their bearings in a complicated mineral story with a cast of thousands. The space problem also makes for a conciseness which breeds annoyance. For example, we learn of the horse-rustling *Chaguanosos* who pioneered exploration of this great desert sink, but the author never defines (translates) their name for us. He corrects our century-old misspelling of 49er John B. Arcan's name, but fails to explain how the "Bennett-Arcane Party" became the standardized usage.

But these blemishes are so minor, mere freckles, not pock marks, that they do nothing to damage the scholarship of this extraordinarily comprehensive—complete—summary of the entire Death Valley story from '49 to 1933. It is an absolutely essential acquisition by anyone who is seriously studying California's arid lands. □

Japanese Legacy: Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Valley.

By Timothy J. Lukes and Gary Y. Okihiro. (Cupertino: Local History Series Volume 31, California History Center, 1985, 156 pp., \$14.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Roger Daniels, University of Cincinnati.

One of the great gaps in the history of ethnic groups in California is the lack of works with a local focus, particularly on smaller cities and rural areas. Thus this well-executed and well-illustrated work is a welcome addition to the literature. It arose, in part, from Lukes' association with the commission that produced a history of San Jose Nikkei in the same year.

Santa Clara County had 284 Japanese in 1900 and more than 4,000 on the eve of their expulsion in 1942. The authors tell their story by utilizing eighteen interviews, and have mined the columns of the San Jose *Mercury* and published government statistics. The heart of the book is in three chapters—III, V, and VI—which treat "Japanese Migrant Labor, 1895-1907," pp. 19-33, "Japanese Dependency, 1907-1942," pp. 55-76 and "Migrant Laborers Once Again," pp. 115-126, which treats, most unevenly, the returns from wartime incarceration. They believe it important to argue that "Japanese Americans became incorporated in American society through American imperialism, a stage of capitalism." (p. 2). This Leninist rhetoric is largely irrelevant to what I would like to know about the Japanese-American community, the stresses and strains within it. It is all well and good to talk about Japanese dependency over a period of thirty-five years, but there were surely differences between those who had achieved essentially middle

class status by then with children in college and the aging bachelor Issei who had only their labor power to sell. The authors at times write as if the Nikkei were a monolithic class when, in fact, they were an ethnic group with a distinct class structure. While Japanese Americans were surely exploited, they also exploited others.

Lukes and Okihiro concentrate on agriculture, conditions of land tenure, and discrimination. The latter is not always done accurately: the 1920 Alien Land Act, for example, did not end the practice of placing land titles in the name of citizen children (p. 59), and one of the disappointments of this volume is the authors' failure to use land or tax records. Nor do they tell us much about community. They do print a fascinating plat of San Jose's *Nihonmachi* (Japan-town), for ca. 1920, identifying more than sixty structures or land uses, but they do not attempt to probe the rich social fabric that lies behind it. How many children, for example, were delivered by the two listed Japanese midwives, and how many in the Japanese hospital next door? Similarly, it is fascinating to learn of twenty Japanese divorces between 1900 and 1942, fourteen of them initiated by women; yet, since no investigation was made of the complaints, as LaBrack and Leonard have done for California Asian Indian divorces, we get no insight into family life. Education, religion, and non-economic secular associational life are all but ignored.

But the virtues of this book far exceed its inevitable shortcomings. It gives precise and concrete examples where we have previously had only vague generalizations. In addition, a word must be said about the fifty-one pages of excellent pictures whose captions are carefully crafted. They could make a book in their own right. Although *Japanese Legacy* is strictly local history it is relevant to anyone interested in the Asian American experience in general and the agricultural aspect of that experience.

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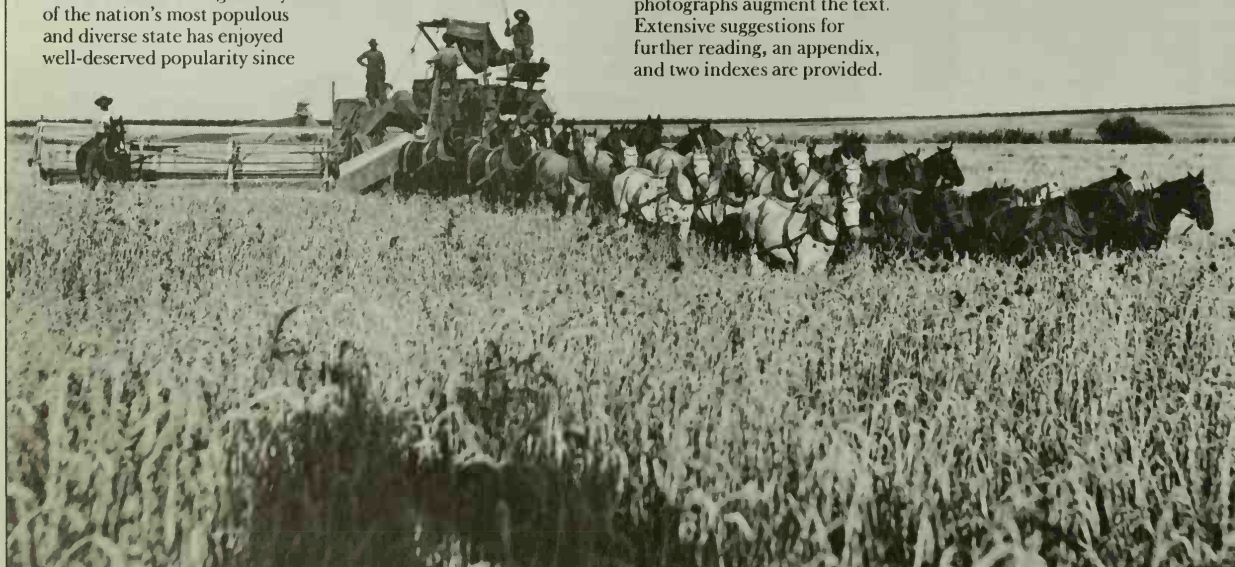
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CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

by Bruce L. Johnson, CHS Director of Libraries

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Alexander, James B. *Sonoma Valley Legacy: Histories and Sites of 70 Historic Adobes In and Around Sonoma Valley*. \$15.25 (includes tax and postage). Order from: Sonoma Valley Historical Society; Post Office Box 861; Sonoma, CA 95476.

Baker, Jere. *Claude Compton, Indian Trader; Fort Mojave, Arizona, 1899-1904*. Napa: Jere Baker, 1986. Price not available. Order from: Jere Baker; 1507 Cedar Street; Napa, CA 94558.

Brownlee, Robert. *An American Odyssey: The Autobiography of a 19th-Century Scotsman, Robert Brownlee, at the Request of His Children; Napa County, California, October 1892*. Edited by Patricia A. Etter. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1986. \$23.00 (cloth), \$12.00 (paper). Order from: The University of Arkansas Press; McIlroy House; Fayetteville, AR 72701.

Calaveras County Historical Society. *An Album of the Pioneer Schools of Calaveras County*. \$19.00 (plus \$1.96 tax and postage). Order from: Calaveras County Historical Society; Post Office Box 721; 30 North Main Street; San Andreas, CA 95249.

Costanillo, Julia G. *Melones: A Story of a Stanislaus River Town*. 1983; reprinted, San Andreas: Calaveras Heritage Council, 1986. \$5.00 (plus 85¢ postage). Order from: Calaveras Heritage Council; Post Office Box 1281; San Andreas, CA 95249.

Daniels, Roger, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano (eds.). *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986. \$24.95. Order from: University of Utah Press; Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

Delahanty, Randolph. *Preserving the West: California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Oregon, Washington*. Photographs by E. Andrew McKinney. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986. \$17.95 (paper). Order from: Pantheon Books, Inc.; 201 East 50th Street; New York, NY 10022.

Demoro, Harre. *California's Electric Railways: A Pictorial Review*. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1986. \$36.95. Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

Emanuel, George. *California's Contra Costa County*. Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1986. \$27.50. Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood, #1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.

The Fields and the Law. Essays by Philip J. Bergan, Owen M. Fiss, and Charles W. McCurdy. San Francisco: United States District Court for the Northern District of California Historical Society; and New York: Federal Bar Council, 1986. \$3.00 (paper; plus \$1.00 postage). Order from: United States District Court for the Northern District of California Historical Society; Post Office Box 36112; San Francisco, CA 94102.

Gidlow, Elsa. *Elsa: I Come With My Songs* [an autobiography]. San Francisco: Booklegger Press, 1986. \$17.95 (cloth), \$10.95 (paper). Order from: Booklegger Press; 555 29th Street; San Francisco, CA 94131.

Hardeman, Nicholas P. *Harbor of the Heartlands: A History of the Inland Seaport of Stockton, California, from the Gold Rush to 1985*. Stockton: Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies, 1986. \$59.95. Order from: Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies; University of the Pacific; Kensington Avenue at Stadium Drive; Stockton, CA 96211.

Hill, William E. *The California Trail; Yesterday and Today: A Pictorial Journey Along the California Trail*. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1986. \$24.95. Order from: Pruett Publishing Company; 2928 Pearl Street; Boulder, CO 80301.

Hofsommer, Don L. *The Southern Pacific, 1901-1985*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1986. \$44.50.

Order from: Texas A & M University Press; Drawer C; College Station, TX 77843.

Jenkins, J. Craig. *The Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. \$32.00. Order from: Columbia University Press; 562 West 113th Street; New York, NY 10025.

Kelsey, Harry. *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo*. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1986. \$25.00. Order from: Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery; Book Publications; 1151 Oxford Road; San Marino, CA 91108.

Kirker, Harold. *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*. Third Edition. Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1986. \$12.95 (paper). Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

Lahontan Images. The following indexes by this publisher dealing with north-eastern California were noted. Order from: Lahontan Images; Post Office Box 1093; Susanville, CA 96130:

Index to Birth and Death Records of the Lassen Advocate Newspaper, Susanville, California, 1868-1899. \$30.00

Cemetery Indexes of Lassen, Modoc & Plumas Counties, California:

I: *Susanville Cemetery, Susanville (1861-1978)*. \$15.00.

II: *Lassen Cemetery, Susanville (1918-1978)*. \$15.00.

III: *Janesville Cemetery, Janesville (1863-1978)*. \$12.00

IV: *Big Valley Cemeteries (Adin, Bieber, and Lookout), Lassen-Modoc Counties (1872-1979)*. \$12.00.

V: *Summit & Vinton Cemeteries, Plumas County (1865-1979)*. \$6.00.

Plaintiff's Index to the County, District and Superior Courts of Lassen County, California, 1864-1931. \$30.00.

Probate Index to the County, Superior and Probate Courts of Lassen County, California, 1864-1931. \$17.00.

Lavender, David S. *California: A History. With an Historical Guide Prepared by the Editors at the American Association for State and Local History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. for the American Association for State and Local History, 1985. \$14.95. Order

C H E C K L I S T

- from: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.; 500 Fifth Avenue; New York, NY 10110.
- Mangelsdorf, Tom. *A History of Steinbeck's Cannery Row*. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1986. \$29.95. Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.
- Nakane, Kazuko. *Nothing Left in My Hands: An Early Japanese American Community in California's Pajaro Valley*. Seattle: Young Pine Press, 1985. \$9.95 (plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: Kazuko Nakane; Post Office Box 45286; Seattle, WA 98145-0286.
- Neutra, Dione (compiler and translator). *Richard Neutra: Promise and Fulfillment, 1919-1932; Selections from the Letters and Diaries of Richard and Dione Neutra*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986. \$19.95. Order from: Southern Illinois University Press; Post Office Box 3697; Carbondale, IL 62901.
- Osborne, Carol M. *Museum Builders in the West: the Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art, 1870-1906*. Essays by Paul V. Turner, Anita Mozley, and a Note by Mary Lou Munn. Stanford: Stanford University Museum of Art, 1986. \$18.50 (paper; price includes tax and postage). Order from: Stanford University Museum of Art; Publications Department; Stanford University; Stanford, CA 94305.
- Ottley, Allan R. (ed.). *John A. Sutter's Last Days: The Bidwell Letters*. Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1986. \$37.50 (plus \$3.00 postage). Order from: Sacramento Book Collectors Club; Post Office Box 160044; Sacramento, CA 95816. The edition is limited to 410 copies, of which 400 are for sale. Printed by Feathered Serpent Press, San Rafael.
- Reisner, Marc. *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water*. New York: Viking, 1986. \$22.95. Order from: Viking Penguin, Inc.; 40 West 23rd Street; New York, NY 10010.
- Rios-Bustamante, Antonio Jose and Pedro Castillo. *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781-1985*. Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986. \$15.00 (paper). Order from: Chicano Studies Research Center, Publications; University of California, Los Angeles; Los Angeles, CA 90024.
- Scott, Mel. *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective*. Second Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. \$48.50 (cloth), \$16.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.
- Teather, Louise. *Place Names of Marin: Where Did They Come From?* San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1986. \$15.00 (cloth), \$10.00 (paper). Order from: Scottwall Associates; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.
- Triem, Judith P. *Ventura County: Land of Good Fortunes; An Illustrated History*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1985. \$22.95. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- Trzyna, Thaddeus C. (compiler and editor). *The California Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Sources of Current Information and Action, with Selected Background Material*. Fifth Edition. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs. \$30.00 (plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: California Institute of Public Affairs; Post Office Box 10; Claremont, CA 91711.
- Ueno, Harry Y. *Manzanar Martyr: An Interview with Harry Y. Ueno*. Introductions by Sue Kunitomi Embrey, Arthur A. Hansen, and Betty Kulberg Mitson. Fullerton: Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 1986. \$17.95. Order from: Japanese American Project; Oral History Program; Library 431; California State University, Fullerton; Fullerton, CA 92634.
- Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (compiler and editor). *California's Sorrowful Mission: A Documentary History of Nuestra Senora de la Soledad*. Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives, 1986. \$18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (compiler and editor). *Last of the Missions: A Documentary History of San Francisco de Solano*. Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives, 1986. \$18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (compiler and editor). *Mission in the Valley of the Bears: A Documentary History of San Luis, Obispo de Tolosa*. Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives, 1985. \$18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.
- Wurm, Ted. *Mallets on the Mendocino Coast: Caspar Lumber Company Railroads and Steamships*. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1986. \$28.95. Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.
- Wyatt, David. *The Fall into Eden: Landscape and Imagination in California*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986. \$24.95. Order from: Cambridge University Press; 32 East 57th Street; New York, NY 10022.

Correction:

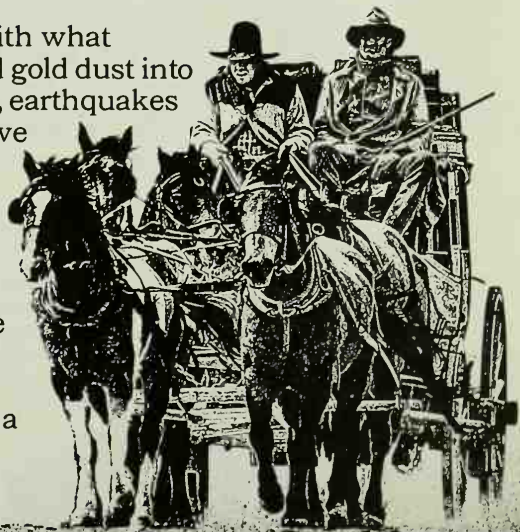
In the last California Checklist, *Historic Houses of the Sacramento River Delta* was incorrectly listed at \$5.95. The price for this book is \$15.95.

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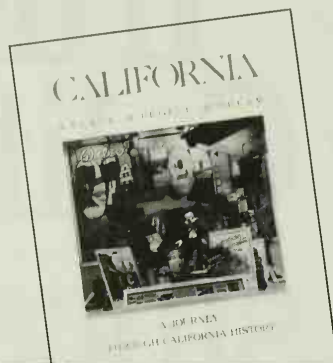
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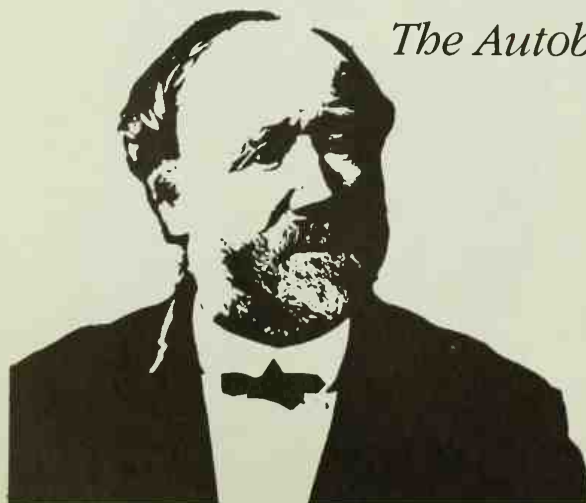
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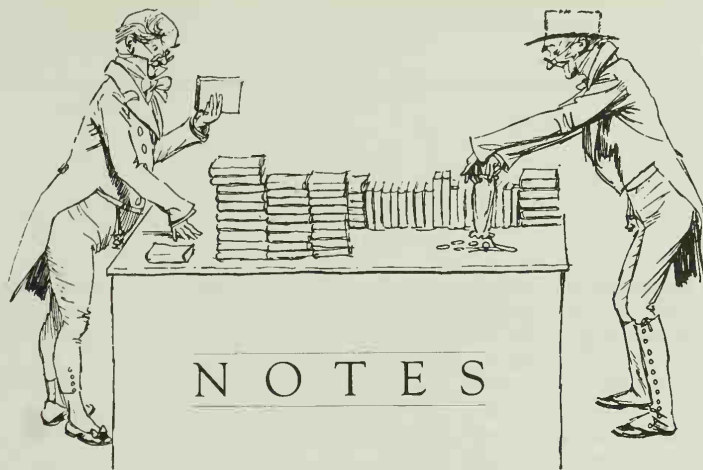
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NOTES

Carlson and Parkman, Camillo, pp. 238-247

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2. Dr. Robert C. Thomas, the great-great-grandson of Camillo Ynitia, is a medical doctor in San Francisco. Dr. Thomas is the great-grandson of Maria Antonia Ynitia, Camillo's younger daughter.
3. Nels C. Nelson, "Site record for Mrn-193 (1907)," on file at Northwest Information Center, California Archeological Site Survey, Sonoma State University; Adan E. Treganza, "The Examination of Indian Shellmounds Within San Francisco Bay with Reference to the Possible 1579 Landfall of Sir Francis Drake: Second Season" (1959), on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento; also Slaymaker.
4. Robert F. Heizer, "Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 42, No. 3 (Berkeley, 1947): 251-302.
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6. *Ibid.*
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8. Robert C. Thomas, personal communication, March 15, 1981.
9. Slaymaker (1976), pp. 9-10.
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11. *Ibid.*
12. E. J. Molera, *Log of the San Carlos* (San Francisco: The California Promotion Committee, 1909), pp. 54-58, 65.
13. Francisco Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, ed. Herbert E. Bolton, Vol. 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), p. 5.
14. J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Marin County, California* (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), pp. 101-102.
15. Alice M. Cleaveland, "The North Bay Shore During the Spanish and Mexican Regimes," Ph.D. Dissertation (1957), University of California, Berkeley.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Slaymaker (1972), p. i.
18. Slaymaker (1972, Table 1) has presented a complete list of the names of Olompalis baptized at the San José and San Rafael missions.
19. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. 2 (San Francisco: San Francisco History Company, 1886), pp. 330-331.
20. Catholic Letters, Vol. 4, Pt. 2 (1823), p. 50, on file at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.
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25. Dorothy H. Huggins, "The Pursuit of an Indian Chief," *California Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1945), pp. 158-167.
26. William Hartnell, "Diario y Borradores de . . . Dos Vistas . . . en 1839-40" (1893-1840), on file at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, p. 7.
27. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California* (San Francisco: J. Howell, 1929), pp. 135-136.
28. Hartnell.
29. Davis.
30. Mariano Vallejo, "Historia de California," Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.
31. Bancroft, Vol. V, pp. 757-758.
32. Marcus E. Peterson, *The Career of Solano, Chief of the Suisuns*, M. A. Thesis (1957), University of California, Berkeley.
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34. Steven Alan Dietz, "Echa-Tamal: A Study of Coast Miwok Acculturation" (1976), M. A. Thesis, San Francisco State University.
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36. Land Grant Case No. 10 N.D., "Transcript of the Proceedings in Case No. 71, Olompali" (1852), on file at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

37. Fred B. Rogers, "Bear Flag Lieutenant," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (1950), pp. 268-269.
38. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 16, 1887.
39. San Rafael Mission records, Charmaine Burdell Collection; Thomas, personal communication.
40. Thomas, *ibid*.
41. San Rafael Mission records.
42. Marin County Recorder's Office, August 30, 1852 Deed.
43. *Marin Journal*, August 4, 1887.
44. Marin County Probate Court, 1856 Will of Camillo Ynitia, on file at the California State Archives, Sacramento.
45. Florence Donnelly, "The Story of Rancho Olompali," *Independent Journal*, February 20, 1965; Munro-Fraser.
46. Thomas. Further details concerning the death of Camillo Ynitia are contained in the Ynitia family history, and, at the request of Robert Thomas, are not discussed here.
47. According to Robert Thomas, the Olompalis may have accompanied Joseph Knox and Camillo's daughters to Mendocino County, serving as their vaqueros in the cattle drive.
48. Marin County Probate Court, Petition of January 26, 1861, on file at the California State Archives, Sacramento.
5. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, August 18, 1911. By April 17, 1912, a financial report to the members of the Musical Association stated that 283 guarantors had subscribed for the first season and that 10 more had already been added for the second season.
6. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, August 18, 1911.
7. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, October 9, 1911.
9. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, November 9, 1911.
10. "Report of the Music Committee" in the *Minutes of the General Meeting*, February 7, 1912.
11. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, 1911, and *San Francisco Examiner*, December 12, 1911.
12. Alfred Metzger, *The Pacific Coast Musical Review*. I do not have the date of this review, but the concert under review was on December 6, 1912.
13. For example, see *Minutes of the Music Committee Meeting*, December 4, 1913, when the Music Committee sent Hadley a letter in which the committee insisted on the right to review and approve all programs. See also October 21, November 25, December 9, 1913, and February 24, 1914. On September 29, 1914, Hadley was compelled to return Glazunov's Eighth Symphony, because the Music Committee did not want it, as well as Sibelius's Second Symphony, because the rental fee was an exorbitant \$75. If the Sibelius could be had for \$20, the Music Committee decided it would approve the choice. Hadley does, however, seem to have had some allies in his interest in recent music. The programming of Max Reger's *Suite Romantique* (the "last word from this distinguished German composer," as Hadley called the Reger in a letter to the committee) was upon the suggestion of Dr. A. Barkan of the Music Committee: see *Minutes of the Music Committee Meeting*, October 21, 1913.
14. After leaving San Francisco, Hadley based his career primarily in New York, serving, at different times, as the associate conductor of the New York Philharmonic and the conductor of the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra—as well as travelling widely. He died on September 6, 1937 in New York.
15. *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner*, December 18, 1915.
16. *Report to the Members of the Musical Association*, April 17, 1912.
17. See Program Book, March 30, 1919.
18. See Program Book, October 8, 1920. The "Urgent Appeal" printed in this program notes that the orchestra's budget for the 1920-1921 season was expected to reach \$175,000. Earned income was estimated from ticket sales at "\$70,000 (\$10,000 more than any previous season's receipts)" and "receipts from program advertising of \$4,000," thereby leaving "a deficiency of approximately \$100,000 to be made good by the Guarantors." See also Season Announcement for 1919-20.
19. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, January 18, 1918.
20. Luisa Kreisberg, *Local Government and the Arts* (New York: American Council for the Arts, 1979), p. 8.
21. By my calculations, this is the first recorded municipal grant to a performing arts organization in the United States. Luisa Kreisberg, in *Local Government and the Arts*, p. 8, named Philadelphia's appropriation of \$15,000 for a local opera company in 1923 as the first recorded municipal grant, but San Francisco's arrangement predates Philadelphia's by a year. Philadelphia withdrew its support of the opera company in a few years, while San Francisco has never let its support lapse. Indeed, in 1934-1935 when the Musical Association was forced to cancel the orchestra's season, the only concerts given by the musicians in San Francisco were the Municipal Concerts, which that season presented an orchestra called "Members of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra."
22. Since the *Minutes of the Musical Association's Meetings* between 1920 and 1930 are missing, I do not have their documentation for this period, but see the program books of November 8 and November 15, 1922, as well as the financial reports for the early 1930s for the implementation of these Municipal Concerts.
23. *The San Francisco Symphony: 1947 Souvenir Book*, p. 10.

Huck, San Francisco Symphony, pp. 248-263

1. Laurence Roth "Where We Came From and How We Began: With the Symphony at the Start," in *San Francisco Symphony Program Book*, September, 1986, p. 48.
2. *Minutes of a Meeting for the Organization of the MUSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO*, December 20, 1909. See also Leonora Wood Armsby, "The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra: First Decade," in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, September, 1946.
3. Although the Musical Association was organized on December 20, 1909, it was actually incorporated on February 3, 1910.
4. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, March 7, 1910.

24. Diane J. Gingold *Business and the Arts: How They Meet the Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: The National Endowment for the Arts, 1984), p. 1. See also Cobbett Steinberg, *The San Francisco Hotel Tax* (San Francisco: The Archives for the Performing Arts, 1986) p. 22.
25. It is the San Francisco Symphony's claim that it was the first orchestra to hire women into the orchestra other than as harpists. See Leonora Wood Armsby, "Know Your Orchestra," San Francisco Symphony Program Book, March 22, 1946, and Michael Steinberg's Hertz entry in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1982). Steinberg wrote this before becoming an employee of the San Francisco Symphony. See also Alfred Hertz's autobiography, published in eleven installments in the *San Francisco Chronicle* after the conductor's death, April 17, 1942. I have not been able to substantiate the Symphony's claims by checking the records of all the other major orchestras in the country, but for the specifics as stated in this paragraph, see the personnel lists of the orchestra from 1922 to 1924. It is thus certainly true that in the early 1920s Hertz hired several women into the orchestra and in this he was extraordinarily forward-looking. The Berlin Philharmonic, to take an extreme example, still excludes women from its ranks.
26. Since the minutes of these meetings are missing, I do not have their first-hand account, but this analysis accords with what secondary evidence I have found. See Leonora Wood Armsby, *We Shall Have Music* (San Francisco: Pisani Printing, 1960), p. 40, and *The San Francisco Symphony Souvenir Book* 1946, p. 10. Also see Hertz's autobiography.
27. *Minutes of a special meeting of the Board of Governors*, February 4, 1931. Thus rebuffed, Cameron went to the Seattle Symphony where he conducted from 1932 to 1938.
28. Press release issued on December 5, 1934. See *Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting* on that date.
29. See Alexander Fried's obituary for Leonora Wood Armsby, in the *San Francisco Examiner*, January 21, 1962. To take an example from a similar art form, the only major opera companies in the United States to endure through the Depression were the Metropolitan in New York and the San Francisco Opera. The companies in Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and St. Louis simply disappeared. See Martin Mayer's "The Opera," in *The Performing Arts and American Society*, W. McNeil Lowry (ed.) (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1978) p. 45. Mayer notes that one of the factors ensuring the San Francisco Opera's continuation was the municipally-operated War Memorial complex in which the opera company was housed.
30. See *Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting*, March 14, 1935.
31. For background information on Leonora Wood Armsby, see her *We Shall Have Music*. Also see William Huck, "Leonora Wood Armsby: The Soul of the San Francisco Symphony," in the Program Book, November, 1986.
32. Leonora Wood Armsby, *We Shall Have Music*, p. 40.
33. Interview with Marie Hicks Davidson, in the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, January 8, 1936. My source, however, is the quotation from Davidson's article in the San Francisco Symphony Program Book, March 15 and 16, 1946.
34. See Doris Monteux, *It's All in the Music* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1965), p. 217. See also Armsby, *We Shall Have Music*, p. 58.
35. See *The San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1962. Stravinsky himself came often to conduct his music with the San Francisco Symphony during Monteux's tenure, beginning with the *Symphony of Psalms* in 1936. His last appearance with the Symphony was in 1966, when he again conducted the *Symphony of Psalms* and the Suite from *Firebird*.
36. Usually Monteux preferred a composer to conduct his own music, though some like Shostakovich could not. Leopold Stokowski, Leonard Bernstein, and Monteux all conducted Shostakovich's symphonies during the forties. But Monteux's policy of encouraging the composer to conduct or play resulted in the appearances of George Gershwin, Igor Stravinsky, Sergei Rachmaninov, Carlos Chavez, Arnold Schoenberg, Ernest Bloch, and Leonard Bernstein with the orchestra.
37. In particular, Monteux programmed the music of violinist David Sheinfeld and violist Emanuel Leplin. Jordá continued to program the music of both Leplin and Sheinfeld, and de Waart conducted a piece of Sheinfeld's in the opening season of Davies Hall.
38. Monteux's memoirs were published by Doris G. Monteux in *It's All in the Music*. Madame Monteux was a strong character in her own right and that must always be remembered when reading her quotations from the Maitre. Nevertheless, this passage about the Student Forum gives a good glimpse of Monteux's personality: "I have been told that many of the young ladies of the Thursday evening [student] audience called me 'Twinkle Toes.' This pleased me no end, as I did not want those concerts to be austere and too formal. From the very beginning a relaxed rapport was established between the orchestra, the young people, and myself. I must say it was very pleasant to receive many of the pretty girls in my room after each concert. All in all, the Forum was perhaps the most outstanding effort of my seventeen years in San Francisco." *It's All in the Music*, p. 191.
39. See David Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony: Music, Maestros and Musicians* (Novato: Presidio Press, 1983), pp. 276-278.
40. Quoted in an advertising flier for the orchestra's "Welcome Home" concert at the end of the tour, May 13, 1947.
41. Doris Monteux, *It's All in the Music*, pp. 188-9.
42. See Armsby, *We Shall Have Music*, p. 104, which introduces Zellerbach during her discussion of the 1948-1949 season.
43. Before the 1951-1952 season, the name of the Musical Association was changed to the San Francisco Symphony Association.
44. *The Minutes of an Executive Committee Meeting*, December 20, 1956.
45. The Ford Foundation always dates its entry into arts patronage in 1957, so apparently Zellerbach's discussions

- with it were part of the process in which the foundation became committed to this plan. At first the foundation gave money to individuals, singers, artists, etc. See The Ford Foundation, *The Finances of the Performing Arts* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1974), vol. 1, p. 15.
46. See Philip S. Boone, *The San Francisco Symphony, 1940-1972: An Oral History* (Berkeley, California: The Regents of the University of California, 1978), pp. 102-4, and *Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting*, September 6, 1966.
47. *The President's Annual Report*, 1953-4.
48. Among the ways in which Zellerbach achieved a consensus on the appointment of Jordá was to poll the Musical Association. Out of 2,000 letters sent out, 800 replies broke down into 552 for Jordá, 164 for Steinberg, and 83 for Solti. See *Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting*, March 25, 1954, and Boone *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 52-4.
49. *Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting*, March 25, 1954. Also Boone *The San Francisco Symphony*, p. 53, who reports that he also had private conversations with the two leading critics (Alfred Frankenstein of the *Chronicle* and Alexander Fried of the *Examiner*). See also David Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 84, 92, 95, and 102.
50. This problem is referred to several times throughout the *Minutes* of 1961 and 1962, but see especially the *Minutes of a Board of Governors Meeting* April 4, 1962. Also see violinist David Schneider's discussion of Jordá as an example of the way in which the musicians thought about and discussed Jordá's abilities, in Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 83-130.
51. The Szell controversy is documented in an exchange of letters between Alfred Frankenstein, music critic for the *Chronicle*, and Szell. The conductor sent the letters to the *San Francisco Examiner* which duly published them in a front-page article. In his letter, Szell called the San Francisco situation "the saddest state of musical affairs I have encountered in any American or European city during the almost fifty years of my active career." See the *San Francisco Examiner*, March 28, 1962. The exchange is reprinted in Philip S. Boone, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 59-60, Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 126-7, and William Huck, *The San Francisco Symphony: Seventy-Five Years of Music* (San Francisco: The Archives for the Performing Arts, 1986), p. 37.
52. See Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 120-2, where he reports that Leon Kirchner felt that Jordá had badly distorted his Toccata for strings, winds and percussion in 1956. In 1960 Kirchner, even though he was a rather inexperienced conductor, nevertheless insisted on conducting Eugene Istomin in his Piano Concerto rather than let Jordá do the job. See all of Schneider's discussion of Jordá, pp. 83-130.
53. See Boone, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 111-25, Schneider *The San Francisco Symphony*, p. 155, *Minutes of a Board of Governors Meeting*, April 24, 1968.
54. Such is Boone's own analysis: see Boone, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 126-31, and the *Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting*, November 27, 1967.
55. *Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting*, October 27, 1967.
56. See *Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting* November 27, 1967, and Boone *The San Francisco Symphony*, p. 118-9, 130-31.
57. Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 206-10.
58. The drive to build a symphony hall actually dates back to October 1, 1964, when the board of trustees of the War Memorial complex engaged architects to draw up plans to repair the existing building and to design an additional concert hall. This plan evolved into Proposition B, which called for a \$29 million, 2,200 seat Music Hall to be built where the San Francisco Ballet building now stands. Proposition B would have made the city the financially responsible partner in the building, but it was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls on November 2, 1965.
59. Ed Schwartz, "Money for Art's Sake," in *San Francisco Business*, March, 1977.
60. This analysis of de Waart's experience in San Francisco accords with two interviews he gave in the fall of 1984. See Robert Commanday, "Interview with de Waart" in *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 23, 1984, and William Huck, "Climbing the Hilly Symphonic Roads in S.F." in the *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 1984. See also William Huck, "The Symphony's Edo de Waart" in *City Arts*, July 1983.
61. See Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony*, pp. 237-9. Since the musicians who went to the opera orchestra would suffer a financial loss, de Waart suggested to the association that it "pays the difference until the musicians reached retirement age in the symphony, at which time their pension would take over."
62. De Waart himself has been one of the most perceptive commentators on acoustical problems of Davies Hall. The architects were given the assignment to abandon the traditional shoe-box shape for a concert hall, which always made the orchestra seem as though it were in a separate room adjoining the room in which the audience sat, and instead they were told to create an environment in which the audience would feel that they were in the same room as the orchestra. The design accomplished this instruction by building into the hall a huge space over the orchestra which the acousticians tried to counteract with the plastic discs that now float over the musicians' heads. As de Waart has said, "The important things to remember [about Davies Hall] is that this is a very big hall—the biggest in the world in cubic feet—over a million cubic feet. So you really have to rethink your concept of the orchestra." (Walter Blum, "Taking the Temperature of the Symphony (Part Two)," *California Living: The Magazine of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, April 12, 1981.) The enormous amount of extra air space that must be made to vibrate in order to create sound in Davies Hall is at the bottom of the acoustical difficulties the hall is still experiencing.
63. See Robert Commanday, "Rapport With Blomstedt," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 14, 1985. For the symphony's reasoning behind engaging Blomstedt, see William Huck, "S.F. Symphony: The Blooming of Blom-

stedt," *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 1985.

Bloom, Aspects of the Documentary, pp. 264-273

1. In his essay, "Photographs and History: Flexible Illustrations," James C.A. Kaufmann discusses the contextual abuse to which photographs are subjected. Reprinted in *Reading into Photography: Selected Essays, 1959-1980*, Barrow, Armistage, Tydeman, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1982, pp. 193-199.
2. One of the seminal essays on this topic is "The Rhetoric of the Image" (Rhetorique de l'image), Roland Barthes, *Communications*, 4, 1964.

Lothrop, Society's Children, pp. 274-283

1. Michael S. Shapiro, *Child's Garden: The Kindergarten Movement from Froebel to Dewey* (University Park, Penna.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), p. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
3. Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora A. Smith, *Kindergarten Principles and Practice* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1896), p. 24.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
5. Irene M. Lilley, *Friedrich Froebel: A Selection from His Writings* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967), p. 24.
6. Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 6.
7. Shapiro, p. 22.
8. Elizabeth R. Peabody, "Kindergartens in Italy," *Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 9. Bruce A. Ronda, ed., *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: American Renaissance Woman* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1984). Univ. Press, 1984). 477 pages.
9. Adolph E. Meyer, *An Educational History of the American People* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957), p. 234.
10. Shapiro, p. 27.
11. Maria von Bulow, *Reminiscences of Froebel*, trans. Mrs. Horace Mann (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1877).
12. Elizabeth Dale Ross, *The Kindergarten Crusade: The Establishment of Preschool Education in the United States* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), p. 8.
13. Wiggin and Smith, *Kindergarten Practice*, pp. 179-80.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
15. Mrs. F. E. Fryatt, "A Free Kindergarten," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LVII (November 1878), pp. 801-02.
16. Dr. Samuel Osgood, "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLVII (August, 1873), p. 455.
17. Joan Jensen, "Caroline Maria Severance," *Notable American Women III* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 265-268; Ellen G. Ruddy, ed., *The Mother of Clubs* (Los Angeles: n.p. 1906); Julia A. Sprague, *History of the New England Women's Club* (1894).
18. Mary Gibson, *Caroline M. Severance: Pioneer* (Los Angeles: The Friday Morning Club, 1925), p. 8.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. See also "Early Kindergarten Work in California," *Kindergarten Magazine V* (1893), p. 250.
20. Gibson, p. 4.
21. Thelma Lee Hubbell and Gloria R. Lothrop, "The Friday Morning Club: A Los Angeles Legacy," *Southern California Quarterly L* (March 1968), pp. 59-90. See also "Kindergartens of Los Angeles," *Kindergarten Magazine VI* (1894), p. 71. "Our Work in Los Angeles," *Kindergarten Review VIII* (1908), p. 237; and "The Education Movement in California," *Kindergarten Magazine V* (1893).
22. Kate Douglas Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), p. 90.
23. Caroline Severance, "The Kindergarten," (Feb. 18, 1893), unpub. ms., HEH Collection, p. 1.
24. John Swett, *History of The Public Schools in California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft Co., 1876), pp. 235-236.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Ruddy, p. 132.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 88; Minutes of the Los Angeles Free Kindergarten Assoc., February 2, 1885-May 31, 1895, HEH Ms. Coll.
28. Ruddy, p. 135.
29. Unpublished paper delivered before the California Humanities Project, 1985.
30. For a more extensive discussion see Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908).
31. Jacob Riis, "The Children of the Poor," *Jacob Riis Revisited: Poverty and the Slum in Another Era* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1960), p. 60.
32. Elizabeth Dale Ross, *The Kindergarten Crusade: The Establishment of Preschool Education in the United States* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), p. 21.
33. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 120, Kate Wiggin, *The Free Kindergarten Work of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft Co., n.d.).
34. Nora Archibald Smith, *Kate Douglas Wiggin as Her Sister Knew Her* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), p. 43.
35. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 160.
36. Vandewalker, p. 67.
37. Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Kate Douglas Wiggin: A Sketch of Her Life with Appreciation* (Boston: The Old Corner Bookstore, n.d.), p. 3.
38. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "Kate Douglas Wiggin," *Notable American Women III*, pp. 605-607.
39. Vandewalker, p. 66.
40. Beulah Bennett, "What constitutes a Kindergarten?" *Kindergarten Magazine*, VII (January 1895), p. 423.
41. Shapiro, *Child's Garden*, p. 93.
42. Richard H. Peterson, "Philanthropic Phoebe: The Educational Charity of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," *California History LXIV* (Fall 1985), pp. 284-289.
43. Vandewalker, p. 71.
44. Ross, p. 13.
45. Vandewalker, p. 152.
46. S. Alexander Rippa, *Education in a Free Society* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1967), p. 183.
47. Susan Blow, "Kindergarten Education," *Monograph on Education in the United States Division of Exhibits, Dept. of Education* (St. Louis: Universal Education, 1904), p. 10; Vandewalker, p. 190; "Report from the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association," *Kindergarten Review XVII* (1917).
48. Elizabeth Reed, "Golden Gate Kin-

dergarten Association," *Kindergarten Review* XVII (1917).

49. Irving Hendrick, *California Education: A Brief History* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1980), p. 30.
50. Wiggin, *Republic of Children*, p. viii.
51. Wiggin, *Kindergarten*, p. 14.
52. Bennett, "What Constitutes a Kindergarten?" p. 426.

Rose, Wettest in the West, pp. 284-295

1. *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 January 1924.
2. *The San Francisco Call and Post*, 1 January 1924.
3. Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), pp. 123, 124.
4. Gilman M. Ostrander, *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1848-1933*, University of California Publications in History (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), p. 81.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
6. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), p. 157.
7. Ostrander, p. 174.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 153.
9. Ostrander, p. 65.
10. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the U.S., Volume II, Population, 1920: General Report and Analytical Tables*, p. 58.
11. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, pp. 326, 327.
12. See Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1976), pp. 137-139.
13. James P. Walsh, "Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," in *The San Francisco Irish, 1850-1976*, p. 89.
14. Robert K. Murray, *103rd Ballot* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 9.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
16. *The Congressional Digest* (October 1924), p. 16.
17. In *The 103rd Ballot*, Robert K. Murray expresses the opinion that it was Smith's wetness on prohibition, more than any of his other "liabilities," which destroyed his chances among rural Protestant Democrats (p. 278). Al Smith's biographer, Richard O'Connor, felt that Smith was the very incarnation "of what they [rural Protestants] feared in American life: the dilution of Anglo-Saxon stock; the suspected conspiracy of Catholics and Jews to overwhelm the old-time religion; the loosening of morals through short skirts, wild dances, speakeasies, country clubs, and automobiles parked in country lanes. . . . Al Smith was becoming a Satanic figure, what with his tilted derby, his snappy checkered suits, his wisecracks issuing from the side of his mouth." See Richard O'Connor, *The First Hurrah: A Biography of Alfred E. Smith* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), p. 147.
18. What was widely referred to as the new "twelve mile limit" was somewhat misleading. The treaties actually set the territorial limit as the distance a ship could travel in one hour's time—a distance which could vary according to weather conditions and the speed of the ship.
19. The New York Anti-Saloon League lost further credibility when its president, David J. Burrell, decided that Anderson had been the victim of a "vain assault upon his integrity" and declared that his confidence in Anderson was "unshaken." *The Sun and the Globe* (New York), 30 January 1924.
20. See Paul M. Angle, *Bloody Williamson: A Chapter In American Lawlessness* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952.) Another story of liquor violence which captured national headlines in 1924 was "ten days of guerrilla warfare" between U.S. customs and prohibition agents and an army of 400 lumberjacks under the leadership of Alfred Levesque, "alleged super-bootlegger," in northern Maine. *The Denver Post*, 6 June 1924.
21. Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 222.
22. Herbert Asbury, *The Great Illusion: An Informal History of Prohibition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1950), p. 200.
23. Merritt Barnes, "'Fountainhead of Corruption'—Peter P. McDonough, Boss of San Francisco's underworld," *California History*, LVII (Summer 1979), p. 144.
24. *The Leader*, 26 January 1924.
25. *Ibid.*, 9 February 1924.
26. *Ibid.*, 14 June 1924.
27. Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, p. 166.
28. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 October 1924.
29. *Ibid.*, 19 November 1924.
30. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 November 1924.
31. *The San Francisco Call and Post*, 1 January 1924.
32. *Ibid.*, 17 January 1924.
33. *San Francisco Examiner*, 16 April 1924.
34. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 September 1924.
35. Ostrander, p. 99.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
37. The "loophole" in the Volstead Act, which courts generally ruled allowed for the making of homemade wine and cider (as long as it was used exclusively for home consumption) appeared at the end of Section 29: "The penalties provided in this act against the manufacture of liquor without a permit shall not apply to a person for manufacturing nonintoxicating cider and fruit juices exclusively for use in his home, but such cider and fruit juices shall not be sold or delivered except to person having permits to manufacture vinegar." See Charles Merz, *The Dry Decade* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), p. 326. The difference between "nonintoxicating" and "intoxicating" when Section 29 was applied in a prohibition case was usually left up to the jury. See Ostrander, *The Prohibition Movement in California*, pp. 178-179.
38. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 July 1924. In the 1924 *Anti-Saloon League Year Book*, 1925, p. 41, W. H. Metson, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment quoted different figures for the same statistic: 2,100 arrests in 1920 and 10,500 for 1923. Metson claimed to have gotten his information from Chief of Police Daniel O'Brien. *San Francisco Examiner*, 9 January 1924.
39. *San Francisco Examiner*, 9 January 1924.
40. *The Anti-Saloon League Year Book*, 1924, p. 82.
41. *The San Francisco Call and Post*, 19 January 1924. Those drinkers who could not afford the expensive "name brands" of liquor smuggled in from

46. *San Francisco Examiner*, 4 April 1924.
47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 November 1924.
48. *Ibid.*, 31 December 1924.
49. *Ibid.*, 12 December 1924.
50. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 October 1924. A week-and-a-half after the *Quadra* was captured, some \$50,000 worth of liquor impounded as evidence "mysteriously disappeared." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 October 1924.
51. *Ibid.*, 15 October 1924.
52. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1924.
53. *Ibid.*, 17 November 1924.
54. *Ibid.*, 15 November 1924.
55. *Ibid.*, 30 November 1924.
56. *Ibid.*, 9 December 1924.
57. *Ibid.* Twenty-nine defendants were ultimately tried for liquor violations in the *Quadra* affair. Nineteen were acquitted, and ten, including the captain and the first and second officers of the *Quadra* were convicted. Five of the ten convicted appealed their convictions on the grounds that the *Quadra* had been seized beyond the treaty demarcation line, and that even if the *Quadra* had been within treaty waters, the United States was entitled only to seize the vessel but not to prosecute those on board. In *Ford et al. v. United States*, the Supreme Court rejected both of these arguments, and upheld the convictions. See *Ford et al. v. United States*, No. 312, *United States Reports*, Volume 272, Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court at October Term, 1926, p. 593.
58. *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 October 1924.
59. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 October 1924.
60. *Ibid.*, 13 October 1924. Editorial com-

ment on the Marron case was conspicuous by its absence. In the midst of the graft allegations against police coming out of the Marron case, the *Chronicle* announced that it was time to "clean up San Francisco"—and launched an anti-litter campaign!

61. *Ibid.*, 23 October 1924.
62. *Ibid.*, 24 October 1924. There was some justification in Rutter's allegation that San Francisco police were less than enthusiastic in enforcing prohibition laws. When federal agents raided the Mi Omo Cafe in January, 1924, among the patrons were three regular policemen, three policemen in plain clothes, a former prohibition agent, and District Attorney Matthew Brady. (*San Francisco Examiner*, 2 January 1924.)
63. *Ibid.*, 15 January 1925.
64. *Ibid.*, 11 January 1925.
65. *Ibid.*, 19 September 1924.
66. *Ibid.*, 20 April 1924.
67. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1924.
68. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 October 1924.
69. *Ibid.*, 11 January 1924.
70. *The San Francisco Call and Post*, 7 March 1924.
71. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1924.
72. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 June 1924.
73. *San Francisco Examiner*, 5 July 1924.
74. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 September 1924.
75. *San Francisco Call and Post*, 18 January 1924.
76. *San Francisco Examiner*, 24 May 1924.
77. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 December 1924.
78. *Ibid.*, 28 December 1924.
79. *Ibid.*, 16 October 1924.
80. The infamous "Poodle Dog" affair of 1921 vividly demonstrated to most San Franciscans that prohibition laws were made for the poor, not the rich. On 29 September 1921 Bergez-Frank's Old Poodle Dog Restaurant was raided by prohibition agents. Among those present at the Poodle Dog in a private dining room was Adolph B. Spreckels, a wealthy San Francisco businessman. Agents entered Spreckels' dining room and found wine on the table. Ray Benjamin, a friend of Spreckels and former Special Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, happened to be in the Poodle Dog at the time and went to investigate the commotion. Benjamin found Spreckels "ill from the

excitement," at which point Benjamin explained to the head of the raiding party that the wine on Spreckels' table was from Spreckels' private cellar and not from the restaurant. Benjamin then called his old friend E. Forrest Mitchell, a prohibition-enforcement officer, and Mitchell called off the raid on the Poodle Dog. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 September 1924.) When Spreckels complained to Senator Hiram Johnson that Benjamin was getting bad press over the affair, Johnson noted in a letter to one of his sons that, "The incident simply confirms what we all know, that prohibition, after all, means prohibition for the poor, while the rich may do as they please." (Robert E. Burke, ed. *The Diary Letters of Hiram Johnson, Volume Three, 1919-1921* [New York & London: Garland Publications, Inc., 1983], letter of 10 October 1921.)

81. *The San Francisco Call and Post*, 14 May 1924.
82. *San Francisco Examiner*, 8 August 1924.
83. *Ibid.*, 29 July 1924.
84. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1924.
85. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 December 1924.
86. *Ibid.*, 31 December 1924.

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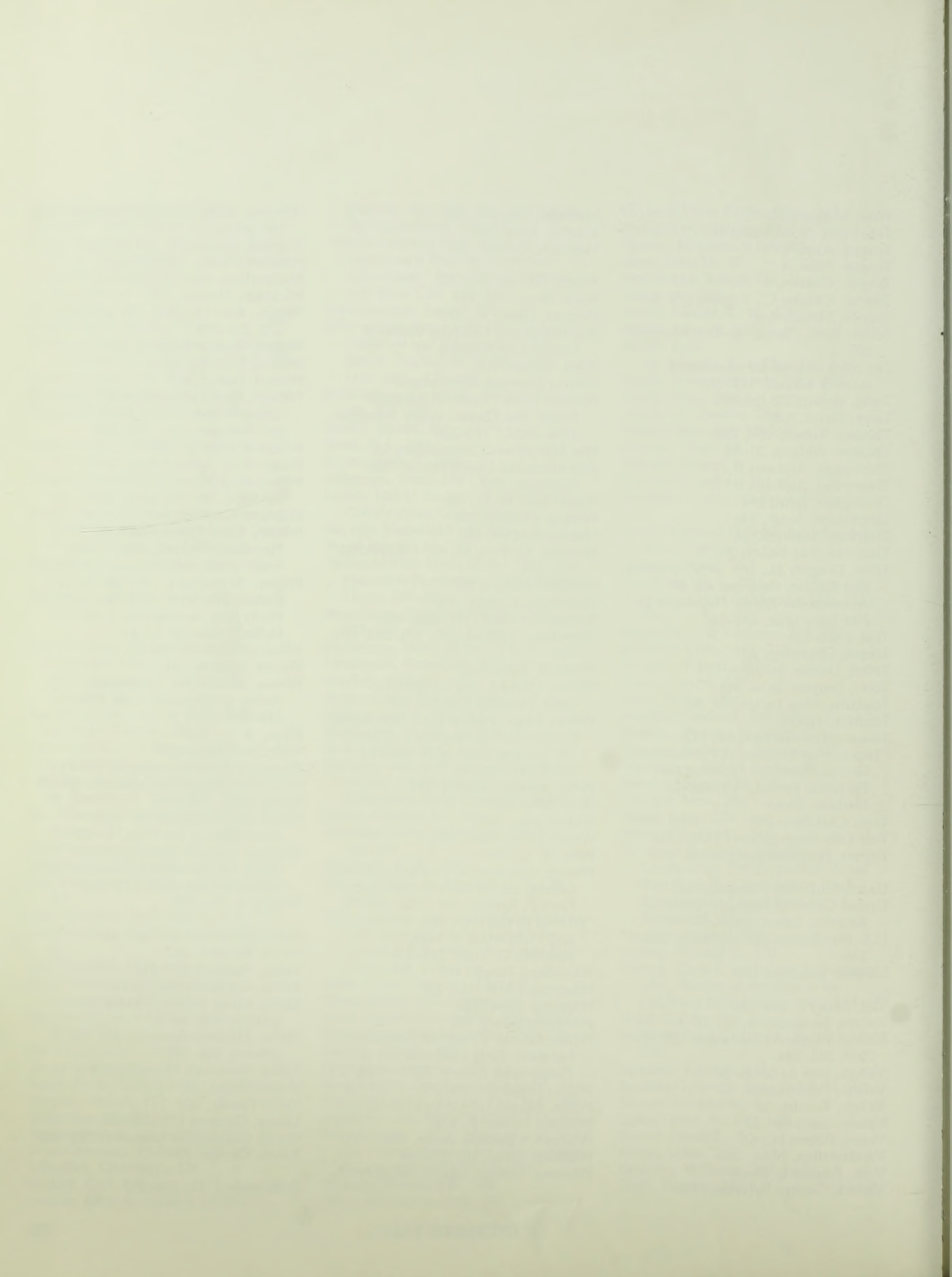
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